

English Literature for Secondary Schools

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MACAULAY'S ESSAY ON CLIVE



Macaulay's Essay on Clive

With Introduction, Notes, etc., by

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INTRODUCTION.

1 Of all Macaulay's Essays that on Clive, if not the most brilliant, is the least open to adverse criticism. The presentment of the hero is substantially accurate; his services as soldier, statesman and founder of our Indian Empire are fully appreciated his faults are clearly and fairly stated. Only a few exaggerations or misstatements require correction.

Written as a magazine article soon after Macaulay's return from office in India, and mainly from a biographical point of view, the Essay requires some amplification before it can stand as a chapter on Indian history. Rather too much is ascribed to the personal influence of Clive to the exclusion of causes which rendered his success possible. The victory of England was ultimately due to the mismanagement of the French Navy, the preoccupation of the French government with continental wars; and above all to our naval supremacy. At the critical moment we could send reinforcements by sea. The French could not. The issue of the war in India was largely influenced by the fate of French armies in Europe and the great contest for colonial predominance all over the world. Dupleix had to give back Madras in 1749 because France had lost and wished to recover Louisberg in America.

2 The internal condition of India was exactly suited to facilitate its conquest by an European Power. Timur or Tamerlane (1335-1405) had led the first invasion of India by the Moguls—nomads from Central Asia. Baber (1482-1530) made the first permanent settlement, the Moguls now appearing as Mahomedans. Akbar (1556-1605) and Aurungzeb (1658-1707) completed the conquest. But the zealous Mahomedanism of the latter provoked a Hindoo reaction. The Mahrattas founded several independent states whose raids carried anarchy throughout the Peninsula. The Sikhs, originally a religious sect, founded a military confederacy in the Punjab. The feebleness of Aurungzeb's successors enabled the viceroys (Sabahdars) and Nawabs of the provinces to make their office hereditary and practically independent. The confusion was completed by the Persian invasion of Nadir Shah, who took Delhi in 1738, while Ahmed Shah made six incursions from Afghanistan, took Delhi and drove the Mogul Emperor into exile. If India had been left to itself a Mahratta dominion might have risen in the place of the Mogul empire. But the Mahrattas also had been temporarily crushed by Ahmed Shah at the battle of Paniput.

Thus no native state was capable of offering serious resistance to European encroachment. Rather in the fierce struggle for existence would European help or even tutelage be welcome in order to secure victory over a rival. Dupleix and the French were the first to see and to use the opportunity. To Clive belongs the credit of appropriating Dupleix's ideas and beating him at his own game.

3 The first English East India Company was founded in 1606, their first factory on the mainland at Surat in 1612. The French Company dates from 1664, Pondicherry being founded in 1668.

Government by Chartered Company had been deliberately adopted by all the nations trading to the East. India was distant. Communications were slow. There was a tacit understanding that beyond certain degrees of longitude the ordinary intercourse of diplomacy did not hold. Companies were able to extend commerce, annex territory, or wage private war without necessarily compromising the Home Government.

The rival Companies were very differently managed. The finances of the English company were sound. Behind it were all the wealth and resources of a world-wide trade. The English Navy held the sea. The Directors were thoroughly in touch with the government, but were subject to very little interference.

The French company had financially a more speculative basis. It never paid a dividend. It was patronised and interfered with by the government, to which it was heavily in debt. The volume of trade and the mercantile marine of France were smaller. The fatal indulgence in great continental wars hindered the growth of the navy, and hampered every colonial scheme.

4 Both companies were thoroughly reorganised early in the eighteenth century, and became keen commercial rivals. The eighteen years 1745-63 saw that rivalry become a political one, and subjected to the arbitrament of war. Three problems had to be solved. Could the English turn out the French? Could they win dominion over the native powers? Could they govern them, when

subjugated, with justice and success? In the solution of all three Clive had a principal hand.

Clive's Indian life lasted from 1744-67, but he was absent in England in 1753-6 and 1760-5. We may conveniently divide the history of the time into four periods.

5 (i) 1744-9. The result of the conflict caused in India by the outbreak of the war of the Austrian Succession was to strengthen greatly the prestige of the French. We had nothing to show against the capture of Madras. But its restoration at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle left both sides in much the same position as at first. Clive had found his vocation as a soldier. Lawrence had founded our Indian army. Dupleix had shown how easily a few Europeans could rout a host of Asiatics when he defeated an attempt of the Nawab of the Carnatic to claim Madras from the French.

6 (ii) 1750-4. Dupleix now took advantage of a disputed succession to establish in the Carnatic and in the Deccan rulers favourable to the French. Though peace reigned in Europe the two Companies fought as allies of rival pretenders. The French carried all before them until that stroke of genius, Clive's capture and defence of Arcot, turned the tide. Clive returned to England before peace was made in 1754. Ultimately the success of France in the Deccan was balanced by British success in the Carnatic. But the net result was in our favour for the French Government gave up the 'forward' policy of Dupleix and recalled him to die in penury and disgrace.

7. (iii) 1756-63. A wholly new work in a new quarter awaited Clive on his return to India. Trouble

had arisen with a native state independently of French intrigue. The victory of Plassey avenged the Black Hole of Calcutta and placed a friendly ruler—Mir Jaffar—in Bengal. But the new Nawab was completely dependent for his safety on the Company's support. His treasury was drained to reward his English allies. The native nobles were ready to revolt in resentment at the indignity of their position. Doubtless Clive foresaw this result, and calculated that native rule would soon become impossible, and in its default the Company would have to take over the government. The defeat of the curiously belated attempt of the Dutch to assert their claims belongs to the same period.

8 Meanwhile round Madras passed away for ever the dream of a French Empire in India. The outbreak of the Seven Years' War incited the French to revive the schemes of Dupleix. Lally arrived in India with a large force, fortunately after Plassey had been fought and won. English influence was finally established in the Deccan. The victory of Coote at Wandewash (1759) and the surrender of Lally at Pondicherry (1761) ended the war. In these operations Clive took no part beyond organising the conquest by Forde of the Northern Circars, a district which the Nizam had given Bussy for the support of his army. By the peace of 1763 France lost, besides her place in India, her American colonies, her African settlements and some of her best West India islands. From that date she has never seriously challenged our sway in India. Her support of Hyder Ali in 1781-3 was intended rather to worry us than with any hope of achieving success.

9 (iv) 1765-7. In his last period of office Clive's

work was threefold—to purge the Civil Service, to reform the army, to settle the lines of imperial policy on the practical incorporation of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa in an English dominion

The last-named act was necessitated by events which happened during his absence in England. Mir Kásim, who procured from the Calcutta Council the deposition in his own favour of Mir Jaffar, was in his way a real patriot, his ultimate object being to use his power to drive the English out. He had indeed reasonable grievances in the misgovernment which Clive eventually put down. His designs were detected before they were matured. He achieved one success—the defeat and capture of an English force near Patna in 1763. The prisoners then taken, 150 in number, were treacherously murdered by his general Sumroo. But the victory of Major Hector Munro at Buxar (Baksar) over Mir Kásim and Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh, ended the war before Clive's arrival. It was this battle, not, as Macaulay says with some exaggeration, the mere reappearance of Clive in 1765, which ensured peace.

10 Clive's settlement must now be briefly summarised. He confirmed the succession of Nujm-ud-daulá in Bengal, while severely punishing the corruption of the Council of Calcutta which had given him his power. The Native States the minister charged with the collection of revenue was called the *Diwán*. Clive put the Company in that position, paying to the Nawab a sum sufficient to maintain his court. He also in part took over the duties of police and the administration of the law. Certain fortresses were to have English garrisons. While all real power was thus centred in English hands he was

careful to have everything done in the Nawab's name, disguising the changes really made. It is important to remember that little or no territory was actually ceded to the Company in full dominion, while the lands affected were but a very small part indeed of the whole peninsula. The period of annexation came very much later. Clive indeed wished to restrict absolutely the further spread of our dominion. He did not realise that it might be impossible for such an empire not to advance its boundaries.

11. How he dealt with the perilous crisis of the military mutiny is sufficiently indicated in the text. Its suppression called forth all the energy and firmness for which he was distinguished. And the same qualities are shown in what was perhaps his greatest achievement, the reform of the Bengal Civil Service, in the face of a bitter and interested opposition, so bitter that many of the company's servants formed an association to cut his society altogether. Members of the Calcutta Council had hitherto held at the same time executive and supervising functions, *i.e.* controlling as councillors actions they had performed as subordinates. Clive confined them strictly to the duty of supervision. All the Company's servants were forbidden to receive presents from Natives, and their right of private trade restricted to dealing under stringent regulations with the monopoly of salt. He would himself have abolished the right. But the directors at home were shortsighted. They would not pay proper salaries. But although Clive's reforms were thus incomplete he did much. Corruption was stopped. A healthier tone was infused into the service. The tarnished honour of the British

name was restored. Subsequent reforms carried his principles to a triumphant issue, and made the Civil Service of India one of the noblest services in the world. To have effected this alone was not to have lived in vain, and justifies his claim to be included (in the words of a French writer) among "the men who did most for the greatness of England."

12. He returned to England in 1765. Round his last years gathered an angry buzz of bitter criticism and accusation, not merely from those whom his reforms had offended, but from moralists who honestly detested his faults, but did not realise either his temptations or his difficulties. Unfortunately few empires have ever been built up by wholly justifiable means. Against Clive's faults must be set his service towards raising our empire to its proud position in the world, and towards making our rule in India a guarantee of justice and of peace. His acquittal came too late. Broken in health, he died by his own hand in 1774. *Felix opportunitate mortis*. For the founder of our Eastern Empire did not live to see the loss of the American Colonies. Yet the attacks made on Clive and afterwards on Warren Hastings were not without use. They roused public opinion at home to a sense of our vast responsibilities in the rule of so many subject races. Our proconsuls abroad were made to feel that the nation was watching their conduct.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

1725	Sept 29	Clive born	1727	Accession of George II.
1744		Lands in India	1741-8	War of the Austrian Succession
1745		French take Madras Clive becomes a soldier	1745	Jacobite Rebellion
1749		Madras restored to English Disputed succession in the Deccan and the Carnatic	1748	Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
1751		French besiege Trichinopoly Clive at Arcot Battle of Arni		
1753		Clive marries and goes to England Surrender of French at Trichinopoly		
1754		Peace Dupleix recalled English supreme in the Carnatic		
1756.		Clive returns to India June 19-20 The Black Hole		
1757.		Clive retakes Calcutta June 23 Plassey Meer Jaffier Nabob of Bengal	1757.	The seven years' war begins Ministry of Newcastle Pitt
1758		Expedition of Lally Forde takes the N. Circars		
1759		Defeat of the Dutch	1759	Minden Quebec
1760		Clive returns to England Elected to Parliament Battle of Wandewash	1760	Accession of George III
1761		Pondicherry taken End of French power in India		
1762.		Irish Peerage.	1763	Peace of Paris End of French power in America.
1764		K C B Contest with Sullivan	1765	Stamp Act
1765		Returns to India Reforms administration		
1767		Final return to England		
1772-3		Parliamentary enquiry into his conduct. Acquittal	1770	Lord North's ministry
1774		Nov 22 Death.	1775-83	Loss of the American Colonies

ANALYSIS OF THE ESSAY

Page 1 Introductory 3 Birth and early characteristics of Clive 4 Goes to India 5 Madras described 7 He attempts suicide The French take Madras 8 Clive escapes, and enters the army Peace restored 10 Decay of the Mogul Empire Parallel from Carlovingian times 14 Possibility of an European dominion in India first grasped by Dupleix 15 His opportunity in the disputed Succession in the Deccan and the Carnatic 16 Success of the French candidates. 18 Siege of Trichinopoly The tide turned by Clive's seizure and defence of Arcot 23 Further victories 24 Lawrence takes the command 27 Clive marries and goes on leave to England 29 Elected to Parliament, but unseated 30. Peace in India Recall of Dupleix 31 Clive returns to Madras The State of Bengal. 33 Surajah Dowlah takes Calcutta. 34 The Black Hole 37 Clive retakes Calcutta. 38 Negotiations with the Nabob fail 41 Plot to place Meer Jaffier on the throne 42 Treachery of Omichund met by the forged treaty 43 The Nabob receives an ultimatum and advances 44 Battle of Plassey. 47. Meer Jaffier enthroned Omichund undeceived 48 Reflections on Clive's conduct 50 Execution of Surajah Dowlah 51 Rewards showered on Clive 53 English influence supreme 55 The Nabob of Oudh and Shah Alum threaten Bengal, but retire before Clive's advance 57 Meer Jaffier intrigues with the Dutch 58 Their armament destroyed Clive goes to England His Irish Peerage 59. His wealth 60 Enters Parliament. 61 Intrigues against him at the India House 63 Bad news from India Meer Cossim War threatened Corruption 66 Clive sent to Calcutta as governor. 67 Purifies the Civil Service 71 Reforms the army and crushes a mutiny 72. Secures peace. Plans for the government of Bengal, etc 74 Lord Clive's fund. 75 Final return to England The unpopularity of the 'Nabobs' extended to Clive. 79 His ostentatious way of life. 80 Famine and fresh misgovernment in Bengal. 81. Bitter attacks on Clive 84 Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry appointed. His defence 87 His acquittal 88. Contrast with the fate of Dupleix. 89 Clive's health breaks down. His death. 90 Estimate of his services to his country.

LORD CLIVE.

WE have always thought it strange that, while the history of the Spanish empire in America is familiarly known to all the nations of Europe, the great actions of our countrymen in the East should, even among ourselves, excite little interest. Every schoolboy knows who imprisoned Montezuma, and who strangled Atahualpa. But we doubt whether one in ten, even among English gentlemen of highly cultivated minds, can tell who won the battle of Buxar, who perpetrated the massacre of Patna, whether Sujah Dowlah ruled in Oude or in Travancore, or whether Holkar was a Hindoo 10 or a Mussulman. Yet the victories of Cortes were gained over savages who had no letters, who were ignorant of the use of metals, who had not broken in a single animal to labour, who wielded no better weapons than those which could be made out of sticks, flints, and fish-bones, who regarded a horse-soldier as a monster, half man and half beast, who took a harquebusier for a sorcerer, able to scatter the thunder and lightning of the skies. The people of India, when we subdued them, were ten times as numerous as the Americans whom the Spaniards vanquished, and were at 20 the same time quite as highly civilised as the victorious Spaniards. They had reared cities larger and fairer than Saragossa or Toledo, and buildings more beautiful and costly than the cathedral of Seville. They could show bankers richer than the richest firms of Barcelona or Cadiz, vice-

roys whose splendour far surpassed that of Ferdinand the Catholic, myriads of cavalry and long trains of artillery which would have astonished the Great Captain. It might have been expected, that every Englishman who takes any interest in any part of history would be curious to know how a handful of his countrymen, separated from their home by an immense ocean, subjugated, in the course of a few years, one of the greatest empires in the world. Yet, unless we greatly err, this subject is, to most readers, not
10 only insipid but positively distasteful.

Perhaps the fault lies partly with the historians. Mr. Mill's book, though it has undoubtedly great and rare merit, is not sufficiently animated and picturesque to attract those who read for amusement. Orme, inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is, that his narrative, though one of the most authentic and one of the most finely written
20 in our language, has never been very popular, and is now scarcely ever read.

We fear that the volumes before us will not much attract those readers whom Orme and Mill have repelled. The materials placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm by the late Lord Powis were indeed of great value. But we cannot say that they have been very skilfully worked up. It would, however, be unjust to criticize with severity a work which, if the author had lived to complete and revise it, would probably have been improved by condensation and
30 by a better arrangement. We are more disposed to perform the pleasing duty of expressing our gratitude to the noble family to which the public owes so much useful and curious information.

The effect of the book, even when we make the largest allowance for the partiality of those who have furnished and of those who have digested the materials, is, on the whole,

greatly to raise the character of Lord Clive. We are far indeed from sympathizing with Sir John Malcolm, whose love passes the love of biographers, and who can see nothing but wisdom and justice in the actions of his idol. But we are at least equally far from concurring in the severe judgment of Mr Mill, who seems to us to show less discrimination in his account of Clive than in any other part of his valuable work. Clive, like most men who are born with strong passions and tried by strong temptations, committed great faults. But every person who takes a fair and enlightened 10 view of his whole career must admit that our island, so fertile in heroes and statesmen, has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council.

The Clives had been settled, ever since the twelfth century, on an estate of no great value, near Market-Drayton, in Shropshire. In the reign of George the First, this moderate but ancient inheritance was possessed by Mr. Richard Clive, who seems to have been a plain man of no great tact or capacity. He had been bred to the law, and divided his time between professional business and the avo- 20 cations of a small proprietor. He married a lady from Manchester, of the name of Gaskill, and became the father of a very numerous family. His eldest son, Robert, the founder of the British empire in India, was born at the old seat of his ancestors on the twenty-ninth of September, 1725.

Some lineaments of the character of the man were early discerned in the child. There remain letters written by his relations when he was in his seventh year; and from these letters it appears that, even at that early age, his strong will and his fiery passions, sustained by a constitutional intre- 30 pidity which sometimes seemed hardly compatible with soundness of mind, had begun to cause great uneasiness to his family. "Fighting," says one of his uncles, "to which he is out of measure addicted, gives his temper such a fierceness and imperiousness, that he flies out on every trifling occasion." The old people of the neighbourhood still re-

member to have heard from their parents how Bob Clive climbed to the top of the lofty steeple of Market-Drayton, and with what terror the inhabitants saw him seated on a stone spout near the summit. They also relate how he formed all the idle lads of the town into a kind of predatory army, and compelled the shopkeepers to submit to a tribute of apples and half-pence, in consideration of which he guaranteed the security of their windows. He was sent from school to school, making very little progress in his learning, 10 and gaining for himself every where the character of an exceedingly naughty boy. One of his masters, it is said, was sagacious enough to prophesy that the idle lad would make a great figure in the world. But the general opinion seems to have been that poor Robert was a dunce, if not a reprobate. His family expected nothing good from such slender parts and such a headstrong temper. It is not strange, therefore, that they gladly accepted for him, when he was in his eighteenth year, a writership in the service of the East India Company, and shipped him off to make a 20 fortune or to die of a fever at Madras.

Far different were the prospects of Clive from those of the youths whom the East India College now annually sends to the Presidencies of our Asiatic empire. The company was then purely a trading corporation. Its territory consisted of a few square miles, for which rent was paid to the native governments. Its troops were scarcely numerous enough to man the batteries of three or four ill-constructed forts, which had been erected for the protection of the warehouses. The natives, who composed a considerable part of 30 these little garrisons, had not yet been trained in the discipline of Europe, and were armed, some with swords and shields, some with bows and arrows. The business of the servant of the Company was not, as now, to conduct the judicial, financial, and diplomatic business of a great country, but to take stock, to make advances to weavers, to ship cargoes, and above all to keep an eye on private traders who

dared to infringe the monopoly. The younger clerks were so miserably paid that they could scarcely subsist without incurring debt, the elder enriched themselves by trading on their own account and those who lived to rise to the top of the service often accumulated considerable fortunes

Madras, to which Clive had been appointed, was, at this time, perhaps, the first in importance of the Company's settlements. In the preceding century, Fort St George had arisen on a barren spot beaten by a raging surf; and in the neighbourhood a town, inhabited by many thousands of natives, had sprung up, as towns spring up in the East, with the rapidity of the prophet's gourd. There were already in the suburbs many white villas, each surrounded by its garden, whither the wealthy agents of the Company retired, after the labours of the desk and the warehouse, to enjoy the cool breeze which springs up at sunset from the Bay of Bengal. The habits of these mercantile grantees appear to have been more profuse, luxurious, and ostentatious, than those of the high judicial and political functionaries who have succeeded them. But comfort was far less understood. Many devices which now mitigate the heat of the climate, preserve health, and prolong life, were unknown. There was far less intercourse with Europe than at present. The voyage by the Cape, which in our time has often been performed within three months, was then very seldom accomplished in six, and was sometimes protracted to more than a year. Consequently, the Anglo-Indian was then much more estranged from his country, much more addicted to Oriental usages, and much less fitted to mix in society after his return to Europe, than the Anglo-Indian 30 of the present day.

Within the fort and its precincts, the English governors exercised, by permission of the native rulers, an extensive authority, such as every great Indian landowner exercised within his own domain. But they had never dreamed of claiming independent power. The surrounding country was

governed by the Nabob of the Carnatic, a deputy of the Viceroy of the Deccan, commonly called the Nizam, who was himself only a deputy of the mighty prince designated by our ancestors as the Great Mogul. Those names, once so august and formidable, still remain. There is still a Nabob of the Carnatic, who lives on a pension allowed to him by the English out of the revenues of the province which his ancestors ruled. There is still a Nizam, whose capital is overawed by a British cantonment, and to whom a British
10 resident gives, under the name of advice, commands which are not to be disputed. There is still a Mogul, who is permitted to play at holding courts and receiving petitions, but who has less power to help or hurt than the youngest civil servant of the Company.

Clive's voyage was unusually tedious even for that age. The ship remained some months at the Brazils, where the young adventurer picked up some knowledge of Portuguese and spent all his pocket-money. He did not arrive in India till more than a year after he had left England. His situ-
20 ation at Madras was most painful. His funds were exhausted. His pay was small. He had contracted debts. He was wretchedly lodged, no small calamity in a climate which can be made tolerable to an European only by spacious and well-placed apartments. He had been furnished with letters of recommendation to a gentleman who might have assisted him; but when he landed at Fort St George he found that this gentleman had sailed for England. The lad's shy and haughty disposition withheld him from introducing himself to strangers. He was several months
30 in India before he became acquainted with a single family. The climate affected his health and spirits. His duties were of a kind ill suited to his ardent and daring character. He pined for his home, and in his letters to his relations expressed his feelings in language softer and more pensive than we should have expected either from the waywardness of his boyhood, or from the inflexible sternness of his later

years "I have not enjoyed," says he, "one happy day since I left my native country," and again, "I must confess, at intervals, when I think of my dear native England, it affects me in a very particular manner If I should be so far blest as to revisit again my own country, but more especially Manchester, the centre of all my wishes, all that I could hope or desire for would be presented before me in one view"

One solace he found of the most respectable kind The Governor possessed a good library, and permitted Clive to have access to it The young man devoted much of his leisure to reading, and acquired at this time almost all the knowledge of books that he ever possessed As a boy he had been too idle, as a man he soon became too busy, for literary pursuits

But neither climate nor poverty, neither study nor the sorrows of a home-sick exile, could tame the desperate audacity of his spirit He behaved to his official superiors as he had behaved to his schoolmasters, and was several times in danger of losing his situation Twice, while residing in the Writers' Buildings, he attempted to destroy himself, and twice the pistol which he snapped at his own head failed to go off This circumstance, it is said, affected him as a similar escape affected Wallenstein After satisfying himself that the pistol was really well loaded, he burst forth into an exclamation that surely he was reserved for something great.

About this time an event which at first seemed likely to destroy all his hopes in life suddenly opened before him a new path to eminence Europe had been, during some 30 years, distracted by the war of the Austrian succession. George the Second was the steady ally of Maria Theresa The house of Bourbon took the opposite side Though England was even then the first of maritime powers, she was not, as she has since become, more than a match on the sea for all the nations of the world together; and she found

it difficult to maintain a contest against the united navies of France and Spain. In the eastern seas France obtained the ascendancy. Labourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, a man of eminent talents and virtues, conducted an expedition to the continent of India in spite of the opposition of the British fleet, landed, assembled an army, appeared before Madras, and compelled the town and fort to capitulate. The keys were delivered up, the French colours were displayed on Fort St George; and the contents of the Com-
10 pany's warehouses were seized as prize of war by the conquerors. It was stipulated by the capitulation that the English inhabitants should be prisoners of war on parole, and that the town should remain in the hands of the French till it should be ransomed. Labourdonnais pledged his honour that only a moderate ransom should be required.

But the success of Labourdonnais had awakened the jealousy of his countryman, Duplex, governor of Pondicherry. Duplex, moreover, had already begun to revolve gigantic schemes, with which the restoration of Madras to the
20 English was by no means compatible. He declared that Labourdonnais had gone beyond his powers, that conquests made by the French arms on the continent of India were at the disposal of the governor of Pondicherry alone, and that Madras should be rased to the ground. Labourdonnais was compelled to yield. The anger which the breach of the capitulation excited among the English was increased by the ungenerous manner in which Duplex treated the principal servants of the Company. The Governor and several of the first gentlemen of Fort St George were carried under a guard
30 to Pondicherry, and conducted through the town in a triumphal procession under the eyes of fifty thousand spectators. It was with reason thought that this gross violation of public faith absolved the inhabitants of Madras from the engagements into which they had entered with Labourdonnais. Clive fled from the town by night in the disguise of a Mussulman, and took refuge at Fort St David,

LORD CLIVE.

one of the small English settlements subordinate to Madras.

The circumstances in which he was now placed naturally led him to adopt a profession better suited to his qualities and intrepid spirit than the business of ~~examining packages~~ and casting accounts. He solicited and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company, and at twenty-one entered on his military career. His personal courage, of which he had, while still a writer, given signal proof by a desperate duel with a military bully who was the terror of 10 Fort St David, speedily made him conspicuous even among hundreds of brave men. He soon began to show in his new calling other qualities which had not before been discerned in him, judgment, sagacity, deference to legitimate authority. He distinguished himself highly in several operations against the French, and was particularly noticed by Major Lawrence, who was then considered as the ablest British officer in India.

Clive had been only a few months in the army when intelligence arrived that peace had been concluded between 20 Great Britain and France. Dupleix was in consequence compelled to restore Madras to the English Company, and the young ensign was at liberty to resume his former business. He did indeed return for a short time to his desk. He again quitted it in order to assist Major Lawrence in some petty hostilities with the natives, and then again returned to it. While he was thus wavering between a military and a commercial life, events took place which decided his choice. The politics of India assumed a new aspect. There was peace between the English and French 30 Crowns, but there arose between the English and French Companies trading to the East a war most eventful and important, a war in which the prize was nothing less than the magnificent inheritance of the house of Tamerlane.

The empire which Baber and his Moguls reared in the sixteenth century was long one of the most extensive and

splendid in the world. In no European kingdom was so large a population subject to a single prince, or so large a revenue poured into the treasury. The beauty and magnificence of the buildings erected by the sovereigns of Hindostan, amazed even travellers who had seen St Peter's. The innumerable retinues and gorgeous decorations which surrounded the throne of Delhi dazzled even eyes which were accustomed to the pomp of Versailles. Some of the great viceroys who held their posts by virtue of commissions from the Mogul ruled as many subjects as the King of France or the Emperor of Germany. Even the deputies of these deputies might well rank, as to extent of territory and amount of revenue, with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, or the Elector of Saxony.

There can be little doubt that this great empire, powerful and prosperous as it appears on a superficial view, was yet, even in its best days, far worse governed than the worst governed parts of Europe now are. The administration was tainted with all the vices of Oriental despotism and with all the vices inseparable from the domination of race over race. The conflicting pretensions of the princes of the royal house produced a long series of crimes and public disasters. Ambitious lieutenants of the sovereign sometimes aspired to independence. Fierce tribes of Hindoos, impatient of a foreign yoke, frequently withheld tribute, repelled the armies of the government from the mountain fastnesses, and poured down in arms on the cultivated plains. In spite, however, of much constant maladministration, in spite of occasional convulsions which shook the whole frame of society, this great monarchy, on the whole, retained, during some generations, an outward appearance of unity, majesty, and energy. But throughout the long reign of Aurungzebe, the state, notwithstanding all that the vigour and policy of the prince could effect, was hastening to dissolution. After his death, which took place in the year 1707, the ruin was fearfully rapid. Violent shocks from without co-operated with

an incurable decay which was fast proceeding within; and in a few years the empire had undergone utter decomposition.

The history of the successors of Theodosius bears no small analogy to that of the successors of Aurungzebe. But perhaps the fall of the Carolingians furnishes the nearest parallel to the fall of the Moguls. Charlemagne was scarcely interred when the imbecility and the disputes of his descendants began to bring contempt on themselves and destruction on their subjects. The wide dominion of the Franks was severed into a thousand pieces. Nothing more 10 than a nominal dignity was left to the abject heirs of an illustrious name, Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. Fierce invaders, differing from each other in race, language, and religion, flocked, as if by concert, from the farthest corners of the earth, to plunder provinces which the government could no longer defend. The pirates of the Northern Sea extended their ravages from the Elbe to the Pyrenees, and at length fixed their seat in the rich valley of the Seine. The Hungarian, in whom the trembling monks fancied that they recognised 20 the Gog or Magog of prophecy, carried back the plunder of the cities of Lombardy to the depths of the Pannonian forests. The Saracen ruled in Sicily, desolated the fertile plains of Campania, and spread terror even to the walls of Rome. In the midst of these sufferings, a great internal change passed upon the empire. The corruption of death began to ferment into new forms of life. While the great body, as a whole, was torpid and passive, every separate member began to feel with a sense, and to move with an energy all its own. Just here, in the most barren and 30 dreary tract of European history, all feudal privileges, all modern nobility, take their source. It is to this point that we trace the power of those princes, who, nominally vassals, but really independent, long governed, with the titles of dukes, marquesses and counts, almost every part of the dominions which had obeyed Charlemagne.

Such or nearly such was the change which passed on the Mogul empire during the forty years which followed the death of Aurungzebe. A succession of nominal sovereigns, sunk in indolence and debauchery, sauntered away life in secluded palaces, chewing bang, fondling concubines, and listening to buffoons. A succession of ferocious invaders descended through the western passes, to prey on the defenceless wealth of Hindostan. A Persian conqueror crossed the Indus, marched through the gates of Delhi, and bore away
10 in triumph those treasures of which the magnificence had astounded Roe and Bernier, the Peacock Throne, on which the richest jewels of Golconda had been disposed by the most skilful hands of Europe, and the inestimable Mountain of Light, which, after many strange vicissitudes, lately shone in the bracelet of Runjeet Sing, and is now destined to adorn the hideous idol of Orissa. The Afghan soon followed to complete the work of devastation which the Persian had begun. The warlike tribes of Rajpootana threw off the Mussulman yoke. A band of mercenary
20 soldiers occupied Rohilcund. The Seiks ruled on the Indus. The Jauts spread dismay along the Jumna. The highlands which border on the western sea-coast of India poured forth a yet more formidable race, a race which was long the terror of every native power, and which, after many desperate and doubtful struggles, yielded only to the fortune and genius of England. It was under the reign of Aurungzebe that this wild clan of plunderers first descended from their mountains; and soon after his death, every corner of his wide empire learned to tremble at the mighty name of the
30 Mahrattas. Many fertile vice-royalties were entirely subdued by them. Their dominions stretched across the peninsula from sea to sea. Mahratta captains reigned at Poonah, at Gualior, in Guzerat, in Berar, and in Tanjore. Nor did they, though they had become great sovereigns, therefore cease to be freebooters. They still retained the predatory habits of their forefathers. Every region which

was not subject to their rule was wasted by their incursions. Wherever their kettle-drums were heard, the peasant threw his bag of rice on his shoulder, hid his small savings in his girdle, and fled with his wife and children to the mountains or the jungles, to the milder neighbourhood of the hyæna and the tiger. Many provinces redeemed their harvests by the payment of an annual ransom. Even the wretched phantom who still bore the imperial title stooped to pay this ignominious black-mail. The camp-fires of one rapacious leader were seen from the walls of the palace of Delhi 10 Another, at the head of his innumerable cavalry, descended year after year on the ricefields of Bengal. Even the European factors trembled for their magazines. Less than a hundred years ago, it was thought necessary to fortify Calcutta against the horsemen of Berar, and the name of the Mahratta ditch still preserves the memory of the danger.

Wherever the viceroys of the Mogul retained authority they became sovereigns. They might still acknowledge in words the superiority of the house of Tamerlane; as a 20 Count of Flanders or a Duke of Burgundy might have acknowledged the superiority of the most helpless driveller among the later Carlovingians. They might occasionally send to their titular sovereign a complimentary present, or solicit from him a title of honour. In truth, however, they were no longer lieutenants removable at pleasure, but independent hereditary princes. In this way originated those great Mussulman houses which formerly ruled Bengal and the Carnatic, and those which still, though in a state of vassalage, exercise some of the powers of royalty at Luck-30 now and Hyderabad.

In what was this confusion to end? Was the strife to continue during centuries? Was it to terminate in the rise of another great monarchy? Was the Mussulman or the Mahratta to be the Lord of India? Was another Baber to descend from the mountains, and to lead the hardy tribes of

Cabul and Chorasán against a wealthier and less warlike race? None of these events seemed improbable. But scarcely any man, however sagacious, would have thought it possible that a trading company, separated from India by fifteen thousand miles of sea, and possessing in India only a few acres for purposes of commerce, would, in less than a hundred years, spread its empire from Cape Comorin to the eternal snow of the Himalayas, would compel Mahratta and Mahomedan to forget their mutual feuds
10 in common subjection, would tame down even those wild races which had resisted the most powerful of the Moguls: and, having united under its laws a hundred millions of subjects, would carry its victorious arms far to the east of the Burrampooter, and far to the west of the Hydaspes, dictate terms of peace at the gates of Ava, and seat its vassal on the throne of Candahar

The man who first saw that it was possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mogul monarchy was Dupleix. His restless, capacious, and inventive mind had
20 formed this scheme, at a time when the ablest servants of the English Company were busied only about invoices and bills of lading. Nor had he only proposed to himself the end. He had also a just and distinct view of the means by which it was to be attained. He clearly saw that the greatest force which the princes of India could bring into the field would be no match for a small body of men trained in the discipline, and guided by the tactics, of the West. He saw also that the natives of India might, under European commanders, be formed into armies, such as Saxe
30 or Frederic would be proud to command. He was perfectly aware that the most easy and convenient way in which an European adventurer could exercise sovereignty in India, was to govern the motions, and to speak through the mouth of some glittering puppet dignified by the title of Nabob or Nizam. The arts both of war and policy, which a few years later were employed with such signal success by the English,

were first understood and practised by this ingenious and aspiring Frenchman

The situation of India was such that scarcely any aggression could be without a pretext, either in old laws or in recent practice. All rights were in a state of utter uncertainty, and the Europeans who took part in the disputes of the natives confounded the confusion, by applying to Asiatic politics the public law of the West and analogies drawn from the feudal system. If it was convenient to treat a Nabob as an independent prince, there was an excellent plea for doing so. He was independent in fact. If it was convenient to treat him as a mere deputy of the Court of Delhi, there was no difficulty; for he was so in theory. If it was convenient to consider his office as an hereditary dignity, or as a dignity held during life only, or as a dignity held only during the good pleasure of the Mogul, arguments and precedents might be found for every one of those views. The party who had the heir of Baber in their hands represented him as the undoubted, the legitimate, the absolute sovereign, whom all subordinate authorities were bound to obey. The party against whom his name was used did not want plausible pretexts for maintaining that the empire was *de facto* dissolved, and that, though it might be decent to treat the Mogul with respect, as a venerable relic of an order of things which had passed away, it was absurd to regard him as the real master of Hindostan.

In the year 1748, died one of the most powerful of the new masters of India, the great Nizam al Mulk, Viceroy of the Deccan. His authority descended to his son, Nazur Jung. Of the provinces subject to this high functionary, the Carnatic was the wealthiest and the most extensive. It was governed by an ancient Nabob, whose name the English corrupted into Anaverdy Khan.

But there were pretenders to the government both of the viceroyalty and of the subordinate province. Mirzapha Jung, a grandson of Nizam al Mulk, appeared as the com-

petitor of Nazir Jung Chunda Sahib, son-in-law of a former Nabob of the Carnatic, disputed the title of Anaverdy Khan. In the unsettled state of Indian law, it was easy for both Mirzapha Jung and Chunda Sahib to make out something like a claim of right. In a society altogether disorganised, they had no difficulty in finding greedy adventurers to follow their standards. They united their interests, invaded the Carnatic, and applied for assistance to the French, whose fame had been raised by their success
10 against the English in the recent war on the coast of Coromandel.

Nothing could have happened more pleasing to the subtle and ambitious Dupleix. To make a Nabob of the Carnatic, to make a Viceroy of the Deccan, to rule under their names the whole of southern India ; this was indeed an attractive prospect. He allied himself with the pretenders, and sent four hundred French soldiers, and two thousand sepoy, disciplined after the European fashion, to the assistance of his confederates. A battle was fought. The French distinguished themselves greatly. Anaverdy Khan was defeated
20 and slain. His son Mahommed Ali, who was afterwards well known in England as the Nabob of Arcot, and who owes to the eloquence of Burke a most unenviable immortality, fled with a scanty remnant of his army to Trichinopoly ; and the conquerors became at once masters of almost every part of the Carnatic.

This was but the beginning of the greatness of Dupleix. After some months of fighting, negotiation, and intrigue, his ability and good fortune seemed to have prevailed every
30 where. Nazir Jung perished by the hands of his own followers, Mirzapha Jung was master of the Deccan, and the triumph of French arms and French policy was complete. At Pondicherry all was exultation and festivity. Salutes were fired from the batteries, and *Te Deum* sung in the churches. The new Nizam came thither to visit his allies ; and the ceremony of his installation was performed there.

with great pomp. Dupleix, dressed in the garb worn by Mahommedans of the highest rank, entered the town in the same palanquin with the Nizam, and, in the pageant which followed, took precedence of all the court. He was declared Governor of India from the river Kristna to Cape Comorin, a country about as large as France, with authority superior even to that of Chunda Sahib. He was intrusted with the command of seven thousand cavalry. It was announced that no mint would be suffered to exist in the Carpatie except that at Pondicherry. A large portion of the treasures which 10 former Viceroy of the Deccan had accumulated found its way into the coffers of the French governor. It was rumoured that he had received two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, besides many valuable jewels. In fact, there could scarcely be any limit to his gains. He now ruled thirty millions of people with almost absolute power. No honour or emolument could be obtained from the government but by his intervention. No petition, unless signed by him, was perused by the Nizam.

Mirzapha Jung survived his elevation only a few months 20. But another prince of the same house was raised to the throne by French influence, and ratified all the promises of his predecessor. Dupleix was now the greatest potentate in India. His countrymen boasted that his name was mentioned with awe even in the chambers of the palace of Delhi. The native population looked with amazement on the progress which, in the short space of four years, an European adventurer had made towards dominion in Asia. Nor was the vain-glorious Frenchman content with the reality of power. He loved to display his greatness with arrogant 30 ostentation before the eyes of his subjects and of his rivals. Near the spot where his policy had obtained its chief triumph, by the fall of Nazir Jung and the elevation of Mirzapha, he determined to erect a column, on the four sides of which four pompous inscriptions, in four languages, should proclaim his glory to all the nations of the East. Medals

stamped with emblems of his successes were buried beneath the foundations of this stately pillar, and round it arose a town bearing the haughty name of Dupleix Fatihabad, which is, being interpreted, the City of the Victory of Dupleix

The English had made some feeble and irresolute attempts to stop the rapid and brilliant career of the rival Company, and continued to recognise Mahommed Ali as Nabob of the Carnatic. But the dominions of Mahommed Ali consisted of
10 Trichinopoly alone, and Trichinopoly was now invested by Chunda Sahib and his French auxiliaries. To raise the siege seemed impossible. The small force which was then at Madras had no commander. Major Lawrence had returned to England, and not a single officer of established character remained in the settlement. The natives had learned to look with contempt on the mighty nation which was soon to conquer and to rule them. They had seen the French colours flying on Fort St George, they had seen the chiefs of the English factory led in triumph through the streets of
20 Pondicherry; they had seen the arms and counsels of Dupleix every where successful, while the opposition which the authorities of Madras had made to his progress, had served only to expose their own weakness, and to heighten his glory. At this moment, the valour and genius of an obscure English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune.

Clive was now twenty-five years old. After hesitating for some time between a military and a commercial life, he had at length been placed in a post which partook of both characters, that of commissary to the troops, with the rank of
30 captain. The present emergency called forth all his powers. He represented to his superiors that, unless some vigorous efforts were made, Trichinopoly would fall, the House of Anaverdy Khan would perish, and the French would become the real masters of the whole peninsula of India. It was absolutely necessary to strike some daring blow. If an attack were made on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, and

the favourite residence of the Nabobs, it was not impossible that the siege of Trichinopoly would be raised. The heads of the English settlement, now thoroughly alarmed by the success of Dupleix, and apprehensive that, in the event of a new war between France and Great Britain, Madras would be instantly taken and destroyed, approved of Clive's plan, and intrusted the execution of it to himself. The young captain was put at the head of two hundred English soldiers, and three hundred sepoys armed and disciplined after the European fashion. Of the eight officers who commanded 10 this little force under him, only two had ever been in action, and four of the eight were factors of the company, whom Clive's example had induced to offer their services. The weather was stormy, but Clive pushed on, through thunder, lightning, and rain, to the gates of Arcot. The garrison, in a panic, evacuated the fort, and the English entered it without a blow.

But Clive well knew that he should not be suffered to retain undisturbed possession of his conquest. He instantly began to collect provisions, to throw up works, and to 20 make preparations for sustaining a siege. The garrison, which had fled at his approach, had now recovered from its dismay, and, having been swollen by large reinforcements from the neighbourhood to a force of three thousand men, encamped close to the town. At dead of night, Clive marched out of the fort, attacked the camp by surprise, slew great numbers, dispersed the rest, and returned to his quarters without having lost a single man.

The intelligence of these events was soon carried to Chunda Sahib, who, with his French allies, was besieging 30 Trichinopoly. He immediately detached four thousand men from his camp, and sent them to Arcot. They were speedily joined by the remains of the force which Clive had lately scattered. They were further strengthened by two thousand men from Vellore, and by a still more important reinforcement of a hundred and fifty French

soldiers whom Dupleix despatched from Pondicherry. The whole of this army, amounting to about ten thousand men, was under the command of Rajah Sahib, son of Chunda Sahib.

Rajah Sahib proceeded to invest the fort of Arcot, which seemed quite incapable of sustaining a siege. The walls were ruinous, the ditches dry, the ramparts too narrow to admit the guns, the battlements too low to protect the soldiers. The little garrison had been greatly
 10 reduced by casualties. It now consisted of a hundred and twenty Europeans and two hundred sepoys. Only four officers were left, the stock of provisions was scanty; and the commander, who had to conduct the defence under circumstances so discouraging, was a young man of five and twenty, who had been bred a book-keeper.

During fifty days the siege went on. During fifty days the young captain maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability, which would have done honour to the oldest marshal in Europe. The breach, however, in-
 20 creased day by day. The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination, and the danger was peculiarly great in a force composed of men differing widely from each other in extraction, colour, language, manners, and religion. But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed any thing that is related of the Tenth Legion of Cæsar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of
 30 their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, or of the influence of a commanding mind.

An attempt made by the Government of Madras to relieve the place had failed. But there was hope from another quarter. A body of six thousand Mahrattas, half soldiers, half robbers, under the command of a chief named Morari Row, had been hired to assist Mahommed Ali, but thinking the French power irresistible, and the triumph of Chunda Sahib certain, they had hitherto remained inactive on the frontiers of the Carnatic. The fame of the defence of Arcot roused them from their torpor. Morari Row declared that he had never before 10 believed that Englishmen could fight, but that he would willingly help them since he saw that they had spirit to help themselves. Rajah Sahib learned that the Mahrattas were in motion. It was necessary for him to be expeditious. He first tried negotiation. He offered large bribes to Clive, which were rejected with scorn. He vowed that, if his proposals were not accepted, he would instantly storm the fort, and put every man in it to the sword. Clive told him in reply, with characteristic haughtiness, that his father was an usurper, that his army was a 20 rabble, and that he would do well to think twice before he sent such poltroons into a breach defended by English soldiers.

Rajah Sahib determined to storm the fort. The day was well suited to a bold military enterprise. It was the great Mahommedan festival which is sacred to the memory of Hosein the son of Ali. The history of Islam contains nothing more touching than the event which gave rise to that solemnity. The mournful legend relates how the chief of the Fatimites, when all his brave followers had 30 perished round him, drank his latest draught of water, and uttered his latest prayer, how the assassins carried his head in triumph, how the tyrant smote the lifeless lips with his staff, and how a few old men recollected with tears that they had seen those lips pressed to the lips of the Prophet of God. After the lapse of near twelve

centuries, the recurrence of this solemn season excites the fiercest and saddest emotions in the bosoms of the devout Moslem of India. They work themselves up to such agonies of rage and lamentation that some, it is said, have given up the ghost from the mere effect of mental excitement. They believe that whoever, during this festival, falls in arms against the infidels, atones by his death for all the sins of his life, and passes at once to the garden of the Houris. It was at this time that Rajah 10 Sahib determined to assault Arcot. Stimulating drugs were employed to aid the effect of religious zeal, and the besiegers, drunk with enthusiasm, drunk with bang, rushed furiously to the attack.

Clive had received secret intelligence of the design, had made his arrangements, and, exhausted by fatigue, had thrown himself on his bed. He was awakened by the alarm, and was instantly at his post. The enemy advanced driving before them elephants whose foreheads were armed with iron plates. It was expected that the gates would 20 yield to the shock of these living battering-rams. But the huge beasts no sooner felt the English musket-balls than they turned round, and rushed furiously away, trampling on the multitude which had urged them forward. A raft was launched on the water which filled one part of the ditch. Clive, perceiving that his gunners at that post did not understand their business, took the management of a piece of artillery himself, and cleared the raft in a few minutes. Where the moat was dry, the assailants mounted with great boldness, but they were received 30 with a fire so heavy and so well-directed, that it soon quelled the courage even of fanaticism and of intoxication. The rear ranks of the English kept the front ranks supplied with a constant succession of loaded muskets, and every shot told on the living mass below. After three desperate onsets, the besiegers retired behind the ditch.

The struggle lasted about an hour. Four hundred of the assailants fell. The garrison lost only five or six men. The besieged passed an anxious night, looking for a renewal of the attack. But when day broke, the enemy were no more to be seen. They had retired, leaving to the English several guns and a large quantity of ammunition.

The news was received at Fort St George with transports of joy and pride. Clive was justly regarded as a man equal to any command. Two hundred English soldiers, and seven hundred sepoy were sent to him, and with this force he 10 instantly commenced offensive operations. He took the fort of Timery, effected a junction with a division of Morari Row's army, and hastened, by forced marches, to attack Rajah Sahib, who was at the head of about five thousand men, of whom three hundred were French. The action was sharp, but Clive gained a complete victory. The military chest of Rajah Sahib fell into the hands of the conquerors. Six hundred sepoy, who had served in the enemy's army, came over to Clive's quarters, and were taken into the British service. Conjeveiam surrendered without a blow. 20 The governor of Arnee deserted Chunda Sahib, and recognised the title of Mahommed Ali.

Had the entire direction of the war been intrusted to Clive, it would probably have been brought to a speedy close. But the timidity and incapacity which appeared in all the movements of the English, except where he was personally present, protracted the struggle. The Mahrattas muttered that his soldiers were of a different race from the British whom they found elsewhere. The effect of this languor was, that in no long time Rajah Sahib, at the head 30 of a considerable army, in which were four hundred French troops, appeared almost under the guns of Fort St George and laid waste the villas and gardens of the gentlemen of the English settlement. But he was again encountered and defeated by Clive. More than a hundred of the French were killed or taken, a loss more serious than that of thousands of

natives The victorious army marched from the field of battle to Fort St David On the road lay the City of the Victory of Duplex, and the stately monument which was designed to commemorate the triumphs of France in the East Clive ordered both the city and the monument to be raised to the ground He was induced, we believe, to take this step, not by personal or national malevolence, but by a just and profound policy The town and its pompous name, the pillar and its vaunting inscriptions, were among the 10 devices by which Duplex had laid the public mind of India under a spell This spell it was Clive's business to break. The natives had been taught that France was confessedly the first power in Europe, and that the English did not presume to dispute her supremacy No measure could be more effectual for the removing of this delusion than the public and solemn demolition of the French trophies.

The government of Madras, encouraged by these events, determined to send a strong detachment, under Clive, to reinforce the garrison of Trichinopoly But just at this 20 conjuncture, Major Lawrence arrived from England, and assumed the chief command From the waywardness and impatience of control which had characterised Clive, both at school and in the counting-house, it might have been expected that he would not, after such achievements, act with zeal and good humour in a subordinate capacity But Lawrence had early treated him with kindness ; and it is bare justice to Clive to say that, proud and overbearing as he was, kindness was never thrown away upon him He cheerfully placed himself under the orders of his old friend, and exerted him- 30 self as strenuously in the second post as he could have done in the first. Lawrence well knew the value of such assistance. Though himself gifted with no intellectual faculty higher than plain good sense, he fully appreciated the powers of his brilliant coadjutor. Though he had made a methodical study of military tactics, and, like all men regularly bred to a profession, was disposed to look with disdain on inter-

lopers, he had yet liberality enough to acknowledge that Clive was an exception to common rules. "Some people," he wrote, "are pleased to term Captain Clive fortunate and lucky; but, in my opinion, from the knowledge I have of the gentleman, he deserved and might expect from his conduct every thing as it fell out,—a man of an undaunted resolution, of a cool temper, and of a presence of mind which never left him in the greatest danger—born a soldier, for, without a military education of any sort, or much conversing with any of the profession, from his judgment and good sense, he led on an army like an experienced officer and a brave soldier, with a prudence that certainly warranted success."

The French had no commander to oppose to the two friends Dupleix, not inferior in talents for negotiation and intrigue to any European who has borne a part in the revolutions of India, was not qualified to direct in person military operations. He had not been bred a soldier, and had no inclination to become one. His enemies accused him of personal cowardice, and he defended himself in a strain worthy of Captain Bobadil. He kept away from shot, he said, because silence and tranquillity were propitious to his genius, and he found it difficult to pursue his meditations amidst the noise of fire-arms. He was thus under the necessity of intrusting to others the execution of his great warlike designs, and he bitterly complained that he was ill served. He had indeed been assisted by one officer of eminent merit, the celebrated Bussy. But Bussy had marched northward with the Nizam, and was fully employed in looking after his own interests, and those of France, at the court of that prince. Among the officers who remained with Dupleix, there was not a single man of capacity; and many of them were boys, at whose ignorance and folly the common soldiers laughed.

The English triumphed every where. The besiegers of Trichinopoly were themselves besieged and compelled to

capitulate Chunda Sahib fell into the hands of the Mah-rattas, and was put to death, at the instigation probably of his competitor, Mahommed Ali The spirit of Dupleix, however, was unconquerable, and his resources inexhaustible From his employers in Europe he no longer received help or countenance They condemned his policy They gave him no pecuniary assistance They sent him for troops only the sweepings of the galleys Yet still he persisted, intrigued, bribed, promised, lavished his private fortune, 10 strained his credit, procured new diplomas from Delhi, raised up new enemies to the government of Madras on every side, and found tools even among the allies of the English Company But all was in vain Slowly, but steadily, the power of Britain continued to increase, and that of France to decline

The health of Clive had never been good during his residence in India; and his constitution was now so much impaired that he determined to return to England Before his departure he undertook a service of considerable diffi- 20 culty, and performed it with his usual vigour and dexterity. The forts of Covelong and Chingleput were occupied by French garrisons It was determined to send a force against them. But the only force available for this purpose was of such a description that no officer but Clive would risk his reputation by commanding it. It consisted of five hundred newly-levied sepoys, and two hundred recruits who had just landed from England, and who were the worst and lowest wretches that the Company's crimps could pick up in the flash-houses of London Clive, ill and exhausted as he was, 30 undertook to make an army of this undisciplined rabble, and marched with them to Covelong A shot from the fort killed one of these extraordinary soldiers; on which all the rest faced about and ran away, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Clive rallied them On another occasion, the noise of a gun terrified the sentinels so much that one of them was found, some hours later, at the bottom of a well.

Clive gradually accustomed them to danger, and, by exposing himself constantly in the most perilous situations, shamed them into courage. He at length succeeded in forming a respectable force out of his unpromising materials. Covelong fell. Clive learned that a strong detachment was marching to relieve it from Chingleput. He took measures to prevent the enemy from learning that they were too late, laid an ambuscade for them on the road, killed a hundred of them with one fire, took three hundred prisoners, pursued the fugitives to the gates of Chingleput, laid siege instantly 10 to that fastness, reputed one of the strongest in India, made a breach, and was on the point of storming when the French commandant capitulated and retired with his men.

Clive returned to Madras victorious, but in a state of health which rendered it impossible for him to remain there long. He married at this time a young lady of the name of Maskelyne, sister of the eminent mathematician, who long held the post of Astronomer Royal. She is described as handsome and accomplished; and her husband's letters, it is said, contain proofs that he was devotedly attached to her. 20

Almost immediately after the marriage, Clive embarked with his bride for England. He returned a very different person from the poor slighted boy who had been sent out ten years before to seek his fortune. He was only twenty-seven; yet his country already respected him as one of her first soldiers. There was then general peace in Europe. The Carnatic was the only part of the world where the English and French were in arms against each other. The vast schemes of Dupleix had excited no small uneasiness in the city of London; and the rapid turn of fortune, which was 30 chiefly owing to the courage and talents of Clive, had been hailed with great delight. The young captain was known at the India House by the honourable nickname of General Clive, and was toasted by that appellation at the feasts of the Directors. On his arrival in England, he found himself an object of general interest and admiration. The East India

Company thanked him for his services in the warmest terms, and bestowed on him a sword set with diamonds. With rare delicacy, he refused to receive this token of gratitude unless a similar compliment were paid to his friend and commander, Lawrence.

It may easily be supposed that Clive was most cordially welcomed home by his family, who were delighted by his success, though they seem to have been hardly able to comprehend how their naughty idle Bobby had become so great
10 a man. His father had been singularly hard of belief. Not until the news of the defence of Arcot arrived in England was the old gentleman heard to growl out that, after all, the booby had something in him. His expressions of approbation became stronger and stronger as news arrived of one brilliant exploit after another; and he was at length immoderately fond and proud of his son.

Clive's relations had very substantial reasons for rejoicing at his return. Considerable sums of prize-money had fallen to his share; and he had brought home a moderate fortune,
20 part of which he expended in extricating his father from pecuniary difficulties, and in redeeming the family estate. The remainder he appears to have dissipated in the course of about two years. He lived splendidly, dressed gaily even for those times, kept a carriage and saddle horses, and, not content with these ways of getting rid of his money, resorted to the most speedy and effectual of all modes of evacuation, a contested election followed by a petition.

At the time of the general election of 1754, the government was in a very singular state. There was scarcely any formal
30 opposition. The Jacobites had been cowed by the issue of the last rebellion. The Tory party had fallen into utter contempt. It had been deserted by all the men of talents who had belonged to it, and had scarcely given a symptom of life during some years. The small faction which had been held together by the influence and promises of Prince Frederic, had been dispersed by his death. Almost every

public man of distinguished talents in the kingdom, whatever his early connections might have been, was in office, and called himself a Whig. But this extraordinary appearance of concord was quite delusive. The administration itself was distracted by bitter enmities and conflicting pretensions. The chief object of its members was to depress and supplant each other. The prime minister, Newcastle, weak, timid, jealous, and perfidious, was at once detested and despised by some of the most important members of his government, and by none more than by Henry Fox, the Secretary at War. 10 This able, daring, and ambitious man seized every opportunity of crossing the First Lord of the Treasury, from whom he well knew that he had little to dread and little to hope; for Newcastle was through life equally afraid of breaking with men of parts and of promoting them.

Newcastle had set his heart on returning two members for St Michael, one of those wretched Cornish boroughs which were swept away by the Reform Act in 1832. He was opposed by Lord Sandwich, whose influence had long been paramount there, and Fox exerted himself strenuously in 20 Sandwich's behalf. Clive, who had been introduced to Fox, and very kindly received by him, was brought forward on the Sandwich interest, and was returned. But a petition was presented against the return, and was backed by the whole influence of the Duke of Newcastle.

The case was heard, according to the usage of that time, before a committee of the whole House. Questions respecting elections were then considered merely as party questions. Judicial impartiality was not even affected. Sir Robert Walpole was in the habit of saying openly that, in election 30 battles, there ought to be no quarter. On the present occasion the excitement was great. The matter really at issue was, not whether Clive had been properly or improperly returned, but whether Newcastle or Fox was to be master of the new House of Commons, and consequently first minister. The contest was long and obstinate, and success seemed to

lean sometimes to one side and sometimes to the other Fox put forth all his rare powers of debate, beat half the lawyers in the House at their own weapons, and carried division after division against the whole influence of the Treasury The committee decided in Clive's favour But when the resolution was reported to the House, things took a different course The remnant of the Tory Opposition, contemptible as it was, had yet sufficient weight to turn the scale between the nicely-balanced parties of Newcastle and Fox Newcastle
10 the Tories could only despise Fox they hated, as the boldest and most subtle politician and the ablest debater among the Whigs, as the steady friend of Walpole, as the devoted adherent of the Duke of Cumberland After wavering till the last moment, they determined to vote in a body with the Prime Minister's friends The consequence was that the House, by a small majority, rescinded the decision of the committee, and Clive was unseated

Ejected from Parliament and straitened in his means, he naturally began to look again towards India The Company
20 and the Government were eager to avail themselves of his services. A treaty favourable to England had indeed been concluded in the Carnatic Dupleix had been superseded, and had returned with the wreck of his immense fortune to Europe, where calumny and chicanery soon hunted him to his grave But many signs indicated that a war between France and Great Britain was at hand, and it was therefore thought desirable to send an able commander to the Company's settlements in India The Directors appointed Clive governor of Fort St David The King gave him the com-
30 mission of a lieutenant-colonel in the British army, and in 1755 he again sailed for Asia.

The first service on which he was employed after his return to the East was the reduction of the stronghold of Gheriah This fortress, built on a craggy promontory, and almost surrounded by the ocean, was the den of a pirate named Angria, whose barks had long been the terror of

the Arabian Gulf. Admiral Watson, who commanded the English squadron in the Eastern seas, burned Angria's fleet, while Clive attacked the fastness by land. The place soon fell, and a booty of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling was divided among the conquerors.

After this exploit, Clive proceeded to his government of Fort St David. Before he had been there two months, he received intelligence which called forth all the energy of his bold and active mind.

Of the provinces which had been subject to the House 10 of Tamerlane, the wealthiest was Bengal. No part of India possessed such natural advantages, both for agriculture and for commerce. The Ganges, rushing through a hundred channels to the sea, has formed a vast plain of rich mould which, even under the tropical sky, rivals the verdure of an English April. The rice fields yield an increase such as is elsewhere unknown. Spices, sugar, vegetable oils, are produced with marvellous exuberance. The rivers afford an inexhaustible supply of fish. The desolate islands along the sea-coast, overgrown by noxious vegeta- 20 tion, and swarming with deer and tigers, supply the cultivated districts with abundance of salt. The great stream which fertilises the soil is, at the same time, the chief highway of Eastern commerce. On its banks, and on those of its tributary waters, are the wealthiest marts, the most splendid capitals, and the most sacred shrines of India. The tyranny of man had for ages struggled in vain against the overflowing bounty of nature. In spite of the Mussulman despot, and of the Mahratta freebooter, Bengal was known through the East as the garden of 30 Eden, as the rich kingdom. Its population multiplied exceedingly. Distant provinces were nourished from the overflowing of its granaries; and the noble ladies of London and Paris were clothed in the delicate produce of its looms. The race by whom this rich tract was peopled, enervat : by a soft climate and accustomed to peaceful

avocations, bore the same relation to other Asiatics which the Asiatics generally bear to the bold and energetic children of Europe. The Castilians have a proverb that in Valencia the earth is water and the men women, and the description is at least equally applicable to the vast plain of the Lower Ganges. Whatever the Bengalee does he does languidly. His favourite pursuits are sedentary. He shrinks from bodily exertion; and, though voluble in dispute, and singularly pertinacious in the war of chicane, 10 he seldom engages in a personal conflict, and scarcely ever enlists as a soldier. We doubt whether there be a hundred genuine Bengalees in the whole army of the East India Company. There never, perhaps, existed a people so thoroughly fitted by nature and by habit for a foreign yoke.

The great commercial companies of Europe had long possessed factories in Bengal. The French were settled, as they still are, at Chandernagore on the Hoogley. Higher up the stream the Dutch traders held Chinsurah. 20 Nearer to the sea, the English had built Fort William. A church and ample warehouses rose in the vicinity. A row of spacious houses, belonging to the chief factors of the East India Company, lined the banks of the river; and in the neighbourhood had sprung up a large and busy native town, where some Hindoo merchants of great opulence had fixed their abode. But the tract now covered by the palaces of Chowringhee contained only a few miserable huts thatched with straw. A jungle, abandoned to waterfowl and alligators, covered the site of the 30 present Citadel, and the Course, which is now daily crowded at sunset with the gayest equipages of Calcutta. For the ground on which the settlement stood, the English, like other great landholders, paid rent to the government; and they were, like other great landholders, permitted to exercise a certain jurisdiction within their domain.

The great province of Bengal, together with Orissa and Bahar, had long been governed by a viceroy, whom the English called Aliverdy Khan, and who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, had become virtually independent. He died in 1756, and the sovereignty descended to his grandson, a youth under twenty years of age, who bore the name of Surajah Dowlah. Oriental despots are perhaps the worst class of human beings, and this unhappy boy was one of the worst specimens of his class. His understanding was naturally feeble, and his temper naturally unamiable. His education had been such as would have enervated even a vigorous intellect and perverted even a generous disposition. He was unreasonable, because nobody ever dared to reason with him, and selfish, because he had never been made to feel himself dependent on the goodwill of others. Early debauchery had unnerved his body and his mind. He indulged immoderately in the use of ardent spirits, which inflamed his weak brain almost to madness. His chosen companions were flatterers, sprung from the dregs of the people, and recommended by nothing but buffoonery and servility. It is said that he had arrived at that last stage of human depravity, when cruelty becomes pleasing for its own sake, when the sight of pain, as pain, where no advantage is to be gained, no offence punished, no danger averted, is an agreeable excitement. It had early been his amusement to torture beasts and birds, and, when he grew up, he enjoyed with still keener relish the misery of his fellow-creatures.

From a child Surajah Dowlah had hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which

Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nabob. A rich native, whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

- 10 The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Duplex to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The fort was taken after a feeble resistance, and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The
- 20 Nabob seated himself with regal pomp in the principal hall of the factory, and ordered Mr Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. His Highness abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found, but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards, and the guards

30 determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon would, in such a climate, have been too close and narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can

scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by the constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated, they entreated, but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives 10 were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderer, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell who, even in that extremity, retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be 20 done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the mean time held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings 30 and moanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors, by piling up on each side the heaps of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made,

twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously, and covered up.

But these things which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them, indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart, but those from whom it was thought that any thing could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. One Englishwoman had survived that night. She was placed in the haram of the Prince at Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah, in the mean time, sent letters to his nominal sovereign at Delhi, describing the late conquest in the most pompous language. He placed a garrison in Fort William, forbade any Englishman to dwell in the neighbourhood, and directed that, in memory of his great actions, Calcutta should thenceforward be called Alinagore, that is to say, the Port of God.

In August the news of the fall of Calcutta reached Madras, and excited the fiercest and bitterest resentment. The cry of the whole settlement was for vengeance. Within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the intelligence it was determined that an expedition should be sent to the

Hoogley, and that Clive should be at the head of the land forces. The naval armament was under the command of Admiral Watson. Nine hundred English infantry, fine troops and full of spirit, and fifteen hundred sepoy, composed the army which sailed to punish a Prince who had more subjects than Louis the Fifteenth or the Empress Maria Theresa. In October the expedition sailed; but it had to make its way against adverse winds, and did not reach Bengal till December.

The Nabob was revelling in fancied security at Moorshedabad. He was so profoundly ignorant of the state of foreign countries that he often used to say that there were not ten thousand men in all Europe, and it had never occurred to him as possible, that the English would dare to invade his dominions. But, though undisturbed by any fear of their military power, he began to miss them greatly. His revenues fell off, and his ministers succeeded in making him understand that a ruler may sometimes find it more profitable to protect traders in the open enjoyment of their gains than to put them to the torture for the purpose of discovering hidden chests of gold and jewels. He was already disposed to permit the Company to resume its mercantile operations in his country, when he received the news that an English armament was in the Hoogley. He instantly ordered all his troops to assemble at Moorshedabad, and marched towards Calcutta.

Clive had commenced operations with his usual vigour. He took Budgebudge, routed the garrison of Fort William, recovered Calcutta, stormed and sacked Hoogley. The Nabob, already disposed to make some concessions to the English, was confirmed in his pacific disposition by these proofs of their power and spirit. He accordingly made overtures to the chiefs of the invading armament, and offered to restore the factory, and to give compensation to those whom he had despoiled.

Clive's profession was war; and he felt that there was

something discreditable in an accommodation with Surajah Dowlah. But his power was limited. A committee, chiefly composed of servants of the Company who had fled from Calcutta, had the principal direction of affairs, and these persons were eager to be restored to their posts and compensated for their losses. The government of Madras, apprised that war had commenced in Europe, and apprehensive of an attack from the French, became impatient for the return of the armament. The promises of the
10 Nabob were large, the chances of a contest doubtful; and Clive consented to treat, though he expressed his regret that things should not be concluded in so glorious a manner as he could have wished.

With this negotiation commences a new chapter in the life of Clive. Hitherto he had been merely a soldier, carrying into effect, with eminent ability and valour, the plans of others. Henceforth he is to be chiefly regarded as a statesman, and his military movements are to be considered as subordinate to his political designs. That in his new
20 capacity he displayed great talents, and obtained great success, is unquestionable. But it is also unquestionable, that the transactions in which he now began to take a part have left a stain on his moral character.

We can by no means agree with Sir John Malcolm, who is obstinately resolved to see nothing but honour and integrity in the conduct of his hero. But we can as little agree with Mr Mill, who has gone so far as to say that Clive was a man "to whom deception, when it suited his purpose, never cost a pang." Clive seems to us to have been constitution-
30 ally the very opposite of a knave, bold even to temerity, sincere even to indiscretion, hearty in friendship, open in enmity. Neither in his private life, nor in those parts of his public life in which he had to do with his countrymen, do we find any signs of a propensity to cunning. On the contrary, in all the disputes in which he was engaged as an Englishman against Englishmen, from his boxing-matches

at school to those stormy altercations at the India House and in Parliament amidst which his later years were passed, his very faults were those of a high and magnanimous spirit. The truth seems to have been that he considered Oriental politics as a game in which nothing was unfair. He knew that the standard of morality among the natives of India differed widely from that established in England. He knew that he had to deal with men destitute of what in Europe is called honour, with men who would give any promise without hesitation, and break any promise without shame, with 10 men who would unscrupulously employ corruption, perjury, forgery, to compass their ends. His letters show that the great difference between Asiatic and European morality was constantly in his thoughts. He seems to have imagined, most erroneously in our opinion, that he could effect nothing against such adversaries, if he was content to be bound by ties from which they were free, if he went on telling truth, and hearing none, if he fulfilled, to his own hurt, all his engagements with confederates who never kept an engagement that was not to their advantage. Accordingly this 20 man, in the other parts of his life an honourable English gentleman and a soldier, was no sooner matched against an Indian intriguer, than he became himself an Indian intriguer, and descended, without scruple, to falsehood, to hypocritical caresses, to the substitution of documents, and to the counterfeiting of hands.

The negotiations between the English and the Nabob were carried on chiefly by two agents, Mr Watts, a servant of the Company, and a Bengalee of the name of Omichund. This Omichund had been one of the wealthiest native mer- 30 chants resident at Calcutta, and had sustained great losses in consequence of the Nabob's expedition against that place. In the course of his commercial transactions, he had seen much of the English, and was peculiarly qualified to serve as a medium of communication between them and a native court. He possessed great influence with his own race, and

had in large measure the Hindoo talents, quick observation, tact, dexterity, perseverance, and the Hindoo vices, servility, greediness, and treachery.

The Nabob behaved with all the faithlessness of an Indian statesman, and with all the levity of a boy whose mind had been enfeebled by power and self-indulgence. He promised, retracted, hesitated, evaded. At one time he advanced with his army in a threatening manner towards Calcutta; but when he saw the resolute front which the
10 English presented, he fell back in alarm, and consented to make peace with them on their own terms. The treaty was no sooner concluded than he formed new designs against them. He intrigued with the French authorities at Chandernagore. He invited Bussy to march from the Deccan to the Hoogley, and to drive the English out of Bengal. All this was well known to Clive and Watson. They determined accordingly to strike a decisive blow, and to attack Chandernagore, before the force there could be strengthened by new arrivals, either from the south of India or from
20 Europe. Watson directed the expedition by water, Clive by land. The success of the combined movements was rapid and complete. The fort, the garrison, the artillery, the military stores, all fell into the hands of the English. Near five hundred European troops were among the prisoners.

The Nabob had feared and hated the English, even while he was still able to oppose to them their French rivals. The French were now vanquished; and he began to regard the English with still greater fear and still greater hatred. His weak and unprincipled mind oscillated between servility
30 and insolence. One day he sent a large sum to Calcutta, as part of the compensation due for the wrongs which he had committed. The next day he sent a present of jewels to Bussy, exhorting that distinguished officer to hasten to protect Bengal "against Clive, the daring in war, on whom," says his Highness, "may all bad fortune attend." He ordered his army to march against the English. He coun-

termanded his orders. He tore Clive's letters. He then sent answers in the most florid language of compliment. He ordered Watts out of his presence, and threatened to impale him. He again sent for Watts, and begged pardon for the insult. In the mean time, his wretched maladministration, his folly, his dissolute manners, and his love of the lowest company, had disgusted all classes of his subjects, soldiers, traders, civil functionaries, the proud and ostentatious Mahommedans, the timid, supple, and paisimonious Hindoos. A formidable confederacy was formed against 10 him, in which were included Roydullub, the minister of finance, Meer Jaffier, the principal commander of the troops, and Jugget Seit, the richest banker in India. The plot was confided to the English agents, and a communication was opened between the malcontents at Moorshedabad and the committee at Calcutta.

In the committee there was much hesitation, but Clive's voice was given in favour of the conspirators, and his vigour and firmness bore down all opposition. It was determined that the English should lend their powerful assistance to 20 depose Surajah Dowlah, and to place Meer Jaffier on the throne of Bengal. In return, Meer Jaffier promised ample compensation to the Company and its servants, and a liberal donative to the army, the navy, and the committee. The odious vices of Surajah Dowlah, the wrongs which the English had suffered at his hands, the dangers to which our trade must have been exposed had he continued to reign, appear to us fully to justify the resolution of deposing him. But nothing can justify the dissimulation which Clive stooped to practise. He wrote to Surajah Dowlah in terms 30 so affectionate that they for a time lulled that weak prince into perfect security. The same courtier who carried this "soothing letter," as Clive calls it, to the Nabob, carried to Mr Watts a letter in the following terms: "Tell Meer Jaffier to fear nothing. I will join him with five thousand men who never turned their backs. Assure him I will

march night and day to his assistance, and stand by him as long as I have a man left ”

- It was impossible that a plot which had so many ramifications should long remain entirely concealed. Enough reached the ears of the Nabob to arouse his suspicions. But he was soon quieted by the fictions and artifices which the inventive genius of Omichund produced with miraculous readiness. All was going well ; the plot was nearly ripe ; when Clive learned that Omichund was likely to play false
- 10 The artful Bengalee had been promised a liberal compensation for all that he had lost at Calcutta. But this would not satisfy him. His services had been great. He held the thread of the whole intrigue. By one word breathed in the ear of Surajah Dowlah, he could undo all that he had done. The lives of Watts, of Meer Jaffier, of all the conspirators, were at his mercy , and he determined to take advantage of his situation and to make his own terms. He demanded three hundred thousand pounds sterling as the price of his secrecy and of his assistance. The committee, incensed by
- 20 the treachery and appalled by the danger, knew not what course to take. But Clive was more than Omichund's match in Omichund's own arts. The man, he said, was a villain. Any artifice which would defeat such knavery was justifiable. The best course would be to promise what was asked. Omichund would soon be at their mercy ; and then they might punish him by withholding from him, not only the bribe which he now demanded, but also the compensation which all the other sufferers of Calcutta were to receive
- 30 His advice was taken. But how was the wary and sagacious Hindoo to be deceived ? He had demanded that an article touching his claims should be inserted in the treaty between Meer Jaffier and the English, and he would not be satisfied unless he saw it with his own eyes. Clive had an expedient ready. Two treaties were drawn up, one on white paper, the other on red, the former real, the latter fictitious.

In the former Omichund's name was not mentioned, the latter, which was to be shown to him, contained a stipulation in his favour

But another difficulty arose. Admiral Watson had scruples about signing the red treaty. Omichund's vigilance and acuteness were such that the absence of so important a name would probably awaken his suspicions. But Clive was not a man to do any thing by halves. We almost blush to write it. He forged Admiral Watson's name.

All was now ready for action. Mr. Watts fled secretly 10 from Moorshedabad. Clive put his troops in motion, and wrote to the Nabob in a tone very different from that of his previous letters. He set forth all the wrongs which the British had suffered, offered to submit the points in dispute to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, and concluded by announcing that, as the rains were about to set in, he and his men would do themselves the honour of waiting on his Highness for an answer.

Surajah Dowlah instantly assembled his whole force, and marched to encounter the English. It had been agreed that 20 Meer Jaffier should separate himself from the Nabob, and carry over his division to Clive. But, as the decisive moment approached, the fears of the conspirator overpowered his ambition. Clive had advanced to Cossimbuzar, the Nabob lay with a mighty power a few miles off at Plassey, and still Meer Jaffier delayed to fulfil his engagements, and returned evasive answers to the earnest remonstrances of the English general.

Clive was in a painfully anxious situation. He could place no confidence in the sincerity or in the courage of his 30 confederate. and, whatever confidence he might place in his own military talents, and in the valour and discipline of his troops, it was no light thing to engage an army twenty times as numerous as his own. Before him lay a river over which it was easy to advance, but over which, if things went ill, not one of his little band would ever return. On this oc-

casion, for the first and for the last time, his dauntless spirit, during a few hours, shrank from the fearful responsibility of making a decision. He called a council of war. The majority pronounced against fighting, and Clive declared his concurrence with the majority. Long afterwards, he said that he had never called but one council of war, and that, if he had taken the advice of that council, the British would never have been masters of Bengal. But scarcely had the meeting broken up when he was himself again. He retired alone
10 under the shade of some trees, and passed near an hour there in thought. He came back determined to put every thing to the hazard, and gave orders that all should be in readiness for passing the river on the morrow.

The river was passed, and at the close of a toilsome day's march, the army, long after sunset, took up its quarters in a grove of mango-trees near Plassey, within a mile of the enemy. Clive was unable to sleep, he heard, through the whole night, the sound of drums and cymbals from the vast camp of the Nabob. It is not strange that even his stout
20 heart should now and then have sunk, when he reflected against what odds, and for what a prize, he was in a few hours to contend.

Nor was the rest of Surajah Dowlah more peaceful. His mind, at once weak and stormy, was distracted by wild and horrible apprehensions. Appalled by the greatness and nearness of the crisis, distrusting his captains, dreading every one who approached him, dreading to be left alone, he sat gloomily in his tent, haunted, a Greek poet would have said, by the furies of those who had cursed him with their
30 last breath in the Black Hole.

The day broke, the day which was to decide the fate of India. At sunrise the army of the Nabob, pouring through many openings from the camp, began to move towards the grove where the English lay. Forty thousand infantry, armed with firelocks, pikes, swords, bows and arrows, covered the plain. They were accompanied by fifty pieces of ordnance

of the largest size, each tugged by a long team of white oxen, and each pushed on from behind by an elephant. Some smaller guns, under the direction of a few French auxiliaries, were perhaps more formidable. The cavalry were fifteen thousand, drawn, not from the effeminate population of Bengal, but from the bolder race which inhabits the northern provinces, and the practised eye of Clive could perceive that both the men and the horses were more powerful than those of the Carnatic. The force which he had to oppose to this great multitude consisted of only three thousand men. But 10 of these nearly a thousand were English, and all were led by English officers, and trained in the English discipline. Conspicuous in the ranks of the little army were the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment, which still bears on its colours, amidst many honourable additions won under Wellington in Spain and Gascony, the name of Plassey, and the proud motto, *Primus in Indis*.

The battle commenced with a cannonade in which the artillery of the Nabob did scarcely any execution, while the few field-pieces of the English produced great effect. Several 20 of the most distinguished officers in Surajah Dowlah's service fell. Disorder began to spread through his ranks. His own terror increased every moment. One of the conspirators urged on him the expediency of retreating. The insidious advice, agreeing as it did with what his own terrors suggested, was readily received. He ordered his army to fall back, and this order decided his fate. Clive snatched the moment, and ordered his troops to advance. The confused and dispirited multitude gave way before the onset of disciplined valour. No mob attacked by regular soldiers was ever more completely 30 routed. The little band of Frenchmen, who alone ventured to confront the English, were swept down the stream of fugitives. In an hour the forces of Surajah Dowlah were dispersed, never to reassemble. Only five hundred of the vanquished were slain. But their camp, their guns, their baggage, innumerable waggons, innumerable cattle, remained

in the power of the conquerors. With the loss of twenty-two soldiers killed and fifty wounded, Clive had scattered an army of nearly sixty thousand men, and subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain

Meer Jaffier had given no assistance to the English during the action. But as soon as he saw that the fate of the day was decided, he drew off his division of the army, and, when the battle was over, sent his congratulations to his ally. The next morning he repaired to the English quarters, not a little
10 uneasy as to the reception which awaited him there. He gave evident signs of alarm when a guard was drawn out to receive him with the honours due to his rank. But his apprehensions were speedily removed. Clive came forward to meet him, embraced him, saluted him as Nabob of the three great provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, listened graciously to his apologies, and advised him to march without delay to Moorshedabad.

Surajah Dowlah had fled from the field of battle with all the speed with which a fleet camel could carry him, and
20 arrived at Moorshedabad in little more than twenty-four hours. There he called his councillors round him. The wisest advised him to put himself into the hands of the English, from whom he had nothing worse to fear than deposition and confinement. But he attributed this suggestion to treachery. Others urged him to try the chance of war again. He approved the advice, and issued orders accordingly. But he wanted spirit to adhere even during one day to a manly resolution. He learned that Meer Jaffier had arrived, and his terrors became insupportable. Dis-
30 guised in a mean dress, with a casket of jewels in his hand, he let himself down at night from a window of his palace, and, accompanied by only two attendants, embarked on the river for Patna.

In a few days Clive arrived at Moorshedabad, escorted by two hundred English soldiers and three hundred sepoys. For his residence had been assigned a palace, which was

surrounded by a garden so spacious that all the troops who accompanied him could conveniently encamp within it. The ceremony of the installation of Meer Jaffier was instantly performed. Clive led the new Nabob to the seat of honour, placed him on it, presented to him, after the immemorial fashion of the East, an offering of gold, and then, turning to the natives who filled the hall, congratulated them on the good fortune which had freed them from a tyrant. He was compelled on this occasion to use the services of an interpreter, for it is remarkable that, long as he resided in India, 10 intimately acquainted as he was with Indian politics and with the Indian character, and adored as he was by his Indian soldiery, he never learned to express himself with facility in any Indian language. He is said indeed to have been sometimes under the necessity of employing, in his intercourse with natives of India, the smattering of Portuguese which he had acquired, when a lad in Brazil.

The new sovereign was now called upon to fulfil the engagements into which he had entered with his allies. A conference was held at the house of Jugget Seit, the great 20 banker, for the purpose of making the necessary arrangements. Omichund came thither, fully believing himself to stand high in the favour of Clive, who, with dissimulation surpassing even the dissimulation of Bengal, had up to that day treated him with undiminished kindness. The white treaty was produced and read. Clive then turned to Mr. Scrafton, one of the servants of the Company, and said in English, "It is now time to undeceive Omichund." "Omichund," said Mr. Scrafton in Hindostanee, "the red treaty is a trick. You are to have nothing." Omichund fell back 30 insensible into the arms of his attendants. He revived; but his mind was irreparably ruined. Clive, who, though little troubled by scruples of conscience in his dealings with Indian politicians, was not inhuman, seems to have been touched. He saw Omichund a few days later, spoke to him kindly, advised him to make a pilgrimage to one of the great temples

of India, in the hope that change of scene might restore his health, and was even disposed, notwithstanding all that had passed, again to employ his talents in the public service. But, from the moment of that sudden shock, the unhappy man sank gradually into idiocy. He, who had formerly been distinguished by the strength of his understanding and the simplicity of his habits, now squandered the remains of his fortune on childish trinkets, and loved to exhibit himself dressed in rich garments, and hung with precious stones.

10 In this abject state he languished a few months, and then died

We should not think it necessary to offer any remarks for the purpose of directing the judgment of our readers with respect to this transaction, had not Sir John Malcolm undertaken to defend it in all its parts. He regrets, indeed, that it was necessary to employ means so liable to abuse as forgery; but he will not admit that any blame attaches to those who deceived the deceiver. He thinks that the English were not bound to keep faith with one who kept no

20 faith with them, and that, if they had fulfilled their engagements with the wily Bengalee, so signal an example of successful treason would have produced a crowd of imitators. Now, we will not discuss this point on any rigid principles of morality. Indeed, it is quite unnecessary to do so for, looking at the question as a question of expediency in the lowest sense of the word, and using no arguments but such as Machiavelli might have employed in his conferences with Borgia, we are convinced that Clive was altogether in the wrong, and that he committed, not merely a crime, but a

30 blunder. That honesty is the best policy is a maxim which we firmly believe to be generally correct, even with respect to the temporal interests of individuals; but, with respect to societies, the rule is subject to still fewer exceptions, and that, for this reason, that the life of societies is longer than the life of individuals. It is possible to mention men who have owed great worldly prosperity to breaches of private

faith But we doubt whether it be possible to mention a state which has on the whole been a gainer by a breach of public faith. The entire history of British India is an illustration of the great truth, that it is not prudent to oppose perfidy to perfidy, and that the most efficient weapon with which men can encounter falsehood is truth During a long course of years, the English rulers of India, surrounded by allies and enemies whom no engagement could bind, have generally acted with sincerity and uprightness, and the event has proved that sincerity and uprightness are wisdom English 10
valour and English intelligence have done less to extend and to preserve our Oriental empire than English veracity All that we could have gained by imitating the doublings, the evasions, the fictions, the perjuries which have been employed against us, is as nothing, when compared with what we have gained by being the one power in India on whose word reliance can be placed No oath which superstition can devise, no hostage however precious, inspires a hundredth part of the confidence which is produced by the "yea, yea," and "nay, nay," of a British envoy No fastness, however 20
strong by art or nature, gives to its inmates a security like that enjoyed by the chief who, passing through the territories of powerful and deadly enemies, is armed with the British guarantee. The mightiest princes of the East can scarcely, by the offer of enormous usury, draw forth any portion of the wealth which is concealed under the hearths of their subjects. The British Government offers little more than four per cent, and avarice hastens to bring forth tens of millions of rupees from its most secret repositories A hostile monarch may promise mountains of gold to our 30
sepoys, on condition that they will desert the standard of the Company. The Company promises only a moderate pension after a long service But every sepoy knows that the promise of the Company will be kept he knows that if he lives a hundred years his rice and salt are as secure as the salary of the Governor-General and he knows that

there is not another state in India which would not, in spite of the most solemn vows, leave him to die of hunger in a ditch as soon as he had ceased to be useful. The greatest advantage which a government can possess is to be the one trustworthy government in the midst of governments which nobody can trust. This advantage we enjoy in Asia. Had we acted during the last two generations on the principles which Sir John Malcolm appears to have considered as sound, had we, as often as we had to deal with people like 10 Omichund, retaliated by lying, and forging, and breaking faith, after their fashion, it is our firm belief that no courage or capacity could have upheld our empire.

Sir John Malcolm admits that Clive's breach of faith could be justified only by the strongest necessity. As we think that breach of faith not only unnecessary, but most inexpedient, we need hardly say that we altogether condemn it.

Omichund was not the only victim of the revolution. Surajah Dowlah was taken a few days after his flight, and 20 was brought before Meer Jaffier. There he flung himself on the ground in convulsions of fear, and with tears and loud cries implored the mercy which he had never shown. Meer Jaffier hesitated; but his son Meeran, a youth of seventeen, who in feebleness of brain and savageness of nature greatly resembled the wretched captive, was implacable. Surajah Dowlah was led into a secret chamber, to which in a short time the ministers of death were sent. In this act the English bore no part, and Meer Jaffier understood so much of their feelings, that he thought it necessary 30 to apologise to them for having avenged them on their most malignant enemy.

The shower of wealth now fell copiously on the Company and its servants. A sum of eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, in coined silver, was sent down the river from Moorshedabad to Fort William. The fleet which conveyed this treasure consisted of more than a hundred

boats, and performed its triumphal voyage with flags flying and music playing Calcutta, which a few months before had been desolate, was now more prosperous than ever. Trade revived, and the signs of affluence appeared in every English house. As to Clive, there was no limit to his acquisitions but his own moderation. The treasury of Bengal was thrown open to him. There were piled up, after the usage of Indian princes, immense masses of coin, among which might not seldom be detected the florins and byzants with which, before any European ship had turned 10 the Cape of Good Hope, the Venetians purchased the stuffs and spices of the East. Clive walked between heaps of gold and silver, crowned with rubies and diamonds, and was at liberty to help himself. He accepted between two and three hundred thousand pounds.

The pecuniary transactions between Meer Jaffier and Clive were sixteen years later condemned by the public voice, and severely criticised in Parliament. They are vehemently defended by Sir John Malcolm. The accusers of the victorious general represented his gains as the 20 wages of corruption, or as plunder extorted at the point of the sword from a helpless ally. The biographer, on the other hand, considers these great acquisitions as free gifts, honourable alike to the donor and to the receiver, and compares them to the rewards bestowed by foreign powers on Marlborough, on Nelson, and on Wellington. It had always, he says, been customary in the East to give and receive presents, and there was, as yet, no Act of Parliament positively prohibiting English functionaries in India from profiting by this Asiatic usage. This 30 reasoning, we own, does not quite satisfy us. We do not suspect Clive of selling the interests of his employers or his country, but we cannot acquit him of having done what, if not in itself evil, was yet of evil example. Nothing is more clear than that a general ought to be the servant of his own government, and of no other. It

follows that whatever rewards he receives for his services ought to be given either by his own government, or with the full knowledge and approbation of his own government. This rule ought to be strictly maintained even with respect to the merest bauble, with respect to a cross, a medal, or a yard of coloured riband. But how can any government be well served, if those who command its forces are at liberty, without its permission, without its privity, to accept princely fortunes from its allies? It is
10 idle to say that there was then no Act of Parliament prohibiting the practice of taking presents from Asiatic sovereigns. It is not on the Act which was passed at a later period for the purpose of preventing any such taking of presents, but on grounds which were valid before that Act was passed, on grounds of common law and common sense, that we arraign the conduct of Clive. There is no Act that we know of, prohibiting the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs from being in the pay of continental powers. But it is not the less true that a
20 Secretary who should receive a secret pension from France would grossly violate his duty, and would deserve severe punishment. Sir John Malcolm compares the conduct of Clive with that of the Duke of Wellington. Suppose—and we beg pardon for putting such a supposition even for the sake of argument—that the Duke of Wellington had, after the campaign of 1815, and while he commanded the army of occupation in France, privately accepted two hundred thousand pounds from Louis the Eighteenth, as a mark of gratitude for the great services which his Grace
30 had rendered to the House of Bourbon; what would be thought of such a transaction? Yet the statute-book no more forbids the taking of presents in Europe now than it forbade the taking of presents in Asia then.

At the same time, it must be admitted that, in Clive's case, there were many extenuating circumstances. He considered himself as the general, not of the Crown, but

of the Company The Company had, by implication at least, authorised its agents to enrich themselves by means of the liberality of the native princes, and by other means still more objectionable It was hardly to be expected that the servant should entertain stricter notions of his duty than were entertained by his masters Though Clive did not distinctly acquaint his employers with what had taken place, and request their sanction, he did not, on the other hand, by studied concealment, show that he was conscious of having done wrong On the contrary, 10 he avowed with the greatest openness that the Nabob's bounty had raised him to affluence Lastly, though we think that he ought not in such a way to have taken any thing, we must admit that he deserves praise for having taken so little He accepted twenty lacs of rupees It would have cost him only a word to make the twenty forty It was a very easy exercise of virtue to declaim in England against Clive's rapacity, but not one in a hundred of his accusers would have shown so much self-command in the treasury of Moorshedabad

20

Meer Jaffier could be upheld on the throne only by the hand which had placed him on it He was not, indeed, a mere boy; nor had he been so unfortunate as to be born in the purple He was not therefore quite so imbecile or quite so depraved as his predecessor had been. But he had none of the talents or virtues which his post required, and his son and heir, Meeran, was another Surajah Dowlah The recent revolution had unsettled the minds of men. Many chiefs were in open insurrection against the new Nabob The viceroy of the rich and 30 powerful province of Oude, who, like the other viceroys of the Mogul, was now in truth an independent sovereign, menaced Bengal with invasion Nothing but the talents and authority of Clive could support the tottering government. While things were in this state a ship arrived with despatches which had been written at the India

House before the news of the battle of Plassey had reached London. The Directors had determined to place the English settlements in Bengal under a government constituted in the most cumbrous and absurd manner; and, to make the matter worse, no place in the arrangement was assigned to Clive. The persons who were selected to form this new government, greatly to their honour, took on themselves the responsibility of disobeying these preposterous orders, and invited Clive to exercise the supreme authority. He consented; and it soon appeared that the servants of the Company had only anticipated the wishes of their employers. The Directors, on receiving news of Clive's brilliant success, instantly appointed him governor of their possessions in Bengal, with the highest marks of gratitude and esteem. His power was now boundless, and far surpassed even that which Duplex had attained in the south of India. Meer Jaffier regarded him with slavish awe. On one occasion, the Nabob spoke with severity to a native chief of high rank, whose followers had been engaged in a brawl with some of the Company's sepoys. "Are you yet to learn," he said, "who that Colonel Clive is, and in what station God has placed him?" The chief, who, as a famous jester and an old friend of Meer Jaffier, could venture to take liberties, answered, "I affront the Colonel! I, who never get up in the morning without making three low bows to his jackass!" This was hardly an exaggeration. Europeans and natives were alike at Clive's feet. The English regarded him as the only man who could force Meer Jaffier to keep his engagements with them. Meer Jaffier regarded him as the only man who could protect the new dynasty against turbulent subjects and encroaching neighbours.

It is but justice to say that Clive used his power ably and vigorously for the advantage of his country. He sent forth an expedition against the tract lying to the

north of the Carnatic In this tract the French still had the ascendancy, and it was important to dislodge them. The conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to an officer of the name of Forde, who was then little known, but in whom the keen eye of the Governor had detected military talents of a high order. The success of the expedition was rapid and splendid.

While a considerable part of the army of Bengal was thus engaged at a distance, a new and formidable danger menaced the western frontier. The Great Mogul was a prisoner at 10 Delhi in the hands of a subject. His eldest son, named Shah Alum, destined to be, during many years, the sport of adverse fortune, and to be a tool in the hands, first of the Mahrattas, and then of the English, had fled from the palace of his father. His birth was still revered in India. Some powerful princes, the Nabob of Oude in particular, were inclined to favour him. Shah Alum found it easy to draw to his standard great numbers of the military adventurers with whom every part of the country swarmed. An army of forty thousand men, of various races and religions, Mahrattas, 20 Rohillas, Jauts, and Afghans, was speedily assembled round him; and he formed the design of overthrowing the upstart whom the English had elevated to a throne, and of establishing his own authority throughout Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar.

Meer Jaffier's terror was extreme; and the only expedient which occurred to him was to purchase, by the payment of a large sum of money, an accommodation with Shah Alum. This expedient had been repeatedly employed by those who, before him, had ruled the rich and unwarlike provinces near the mouth of the Ganges. But Olive treated the suggestion 30 with a scorn worthy of his strong sense and dauntless courage. "If you do this," he wrote, "you will have the Nabob of Oude, the Mahrattas, and many more, come from all parts of the confines of your country, who will bully you out of money till you have none left in your treasury. I beg your excellency will rely on the fidelity of the English, and

of those troops which are attached to you " He wrote in a similar strain to the governor of Patna, a brave native soldier whom he highly esteemed "Come to no terms; defend your city to the last Rest assured that the English are stanch and firm friends, and that they never desert a cause in which they have once taken a part "

He kept his word Shah Alum had invested Patna, and was on the point of proceeding to storm, when he learned that the Colonel was advancing by forced marches The
10 whole army which was approaching consisted of only four hundred and fifty Europeans, and two thousand five hundred sepoy But Clive and his Englishmen were now objects of dread over all the East As soon as his advanced guard appeared, the besiegers fled before him A few French adventurers who were about the person of the prince advised him to try the chance of battle; but in vain. In a few days this great army, which had been regarded with so much uneasiness by the Court of Moorsshedabad, melted away before the mere terror of the British name

20 The conqueror returned in triumph to Fort Wilham The joy of Meer Jaffier was as unbounded as his fears had been, and led him to bestow on his preserver a princely token of gratitude The quit-rent which the East India company were bound to pay to the Nabob for the extensive lands held by them to the south of Calcutta amounted to near thirty thousand pounds sterling a year. The whole of this splendid estate, sufficient to support with dignity the highest rank of the British peerage, was now conferred on Clive for life

This present we think Clive justified in accepting It was
30 a present which, from its very nature, could be no secret In fact, the Company itself was his tenant, and, by its acquiescence, signified its approbation of Meer Jaffier's grant.

But the gratitude of Meer Jaffier did not last long. He had for some time felt that the powerful ally who had set him up might pull him down, and had been looking round for support against the formidable strength by which he had

himself been hitherto supported. He knew that it would be impossible to find among the natives of India any force which would look the Colonel's little army in the face. The French power in Bengal was extinct. But the fame of the Dutch had anciently been great in the Eastern seas, and it was not yet distinctly known in Asia how much the power of Holland had declined in Europe. Secret communications passed between the court of Mooishedabad and the Dutch factory at Chinsurah, and urgent letters were sent from Chinsurah, exhorting the government of Batavia to fit out an expedition which might balance the power of the English in Bengal. The authorities of Batavia, eager to extend the influence of their country, and still more eager to obtain for themselves a share of the wealth which had recently raised so many English adventurers to opulence, equipped a powerful armament. Seven large ships from Java arrived unexpectedly in the Hoogley. The military force on board amounted to fifteen hundred men, of whom about one half were Europeans. The enterprise was well timed. Clive had sent such large detachments to oppose the French in the Carnatic that his army was now inferior in number to that of the Dutch. He knew that Meer Jaffier secretly favoured the invaders. He knew that he took on himself a serious responsibility if he attacked the forces of a friendly power; that the English ministers could not wish to see a war with Holland added to that in which they were already engaged with France, that they might disavow his acts, that they might punish him. He had recently remitted a great part of his fortune to Europe, through the Dutch East India Company; and he had therefore a strong interest in avoiding any quarrel. But he was satisfied, that if he suffered the Batavian armament to pass up the river and to join the garrison of Chinsurah, Meer Jaffier would throw himself into the arms of these new allies, and that the English ascendancy in Bengal would be exposed to most serious danger. He took his resolution with characteristic boldness,

and was most ably seconded by his officers, particularly by Colonel Forde, to whom the most important part of the operations was intrusted. The Dutch attempted to force a passage. The English encountered them both by land and water. On both elements the enemy had a great superiority of force. On both they were signally defeated. Their ships were taken. Their troops were put to a total rout. Almost all the European soldiers, who constituted the main strength of the invading army, were killed or taken. The conquerors
10 sat down before Chinsurah; and the chiefs of that settlement, now thoroughly humbled, consented to the terms which Clive dictated. They engaged to build no fortifications, and to raise no troops beyond a small force necessary for the police of their factories, and it was distinctly provided that any violation of these covenants should be punished with instant expulsion from Bengal.

Three months after this great victory, Clive sailed for England. At home, honours and rewards awaited him, not indeed equal to his claims or to his ambition, but still such
20 as, when his age, his rank in the army, and his original place in society are considered, must be pronounced rare and splendid. He was raised to the Irish peerage, and encouraged to expect an English title. George the Third, who had just ascended the throne, received him with great distinction. The ministers paid him marked attention, and Pitt, whose influence in the House of Commons and in the country was unbounded, was eager to mark his regard for one whose exploits had contributed so much to the lustre of that memorable period. The great orator had already in Parliament
30 described Clive as a heaven-born general, as a man who, bred to the labour of the desk, had displayed a military genius which might excite the admiration of the King of Prussia. There were then no reporters in the gallery; but these words, emphatically spoken by the first statesman of the age, had passed from mouth to mouth, had been transmitted to Clive in Bengal, and had greatly delighted and flattered

him Indeed, since the death of Wolfe, Clive was the only English general of whom his countrymen had much reason to be proud The Duke of Cumberland had been generally unfortunate, and his single victory, having been gained over his countrymen, and used with merciless severity, had been more fatal to his popularity than his many defeats Conway, versed in the learning of his profession, and personally courageous, wanted vigour and capacity Granby, honest, generous, and as brave as a lion, had neither science nor genius Sackville, inferior in knowledge and abilities to 10 none of his contemporaries, had incurred, unjustly as we believe, the imputation most fatal to the character of a soldier It was under the command of a foreign general that the British had triumphed at Minden and Warburg The people therefore, as was natural, greeted with pride and delight a captain of their own, whose native courage and self-taught skill had placed him on a level with the great tacticians of Germany

The wealth of Clive was such as enabled him to vie with the first grandees of England There remains proof that he 20 had remitted more than a hundred and eighty thousand pounds through the Dutch East India Company, and more than forty thousand pounds through the English Company The amount which he had sent home through private houses was also considerable He had invested great sums in jewels, then a very common mode of remittance from India His purchases of diamonds, at Madras alone, amounted to twenty-five thousand pounds Besides a great mass of ready money, he had his Indian estate, valued by himself at twenty-seven thousand a year His whole annual income, in the 30 opinion of Sir John Malcolm, who is desirous to state it as low as possible, exceeded forty thousand pounds; and incomes of forty thousand pounds at the time of the accession of George the Third were at least as rare as incomes of a hundred thousand pounds now We may safely affirm that no Englishman who started with nothing has ever, in any

line of life, created such a fortune at the early age of thirty-four.

It would be unjust not to add that Clive made a creditable use of his riches. As soon as the battle of Plassey had laid the foundation of his fortune, he sent ten thousand pounds to his sisters, bestowed as much more on other poor friends and relations, ordered his agent to pay eight hundred a year to his parents, and to insist that they should keep a carriage, and settled five hundred a year on his old commander 10 Lawrence, whose means were very slender. The whole sum which Clive expended in this manner may be calculated at fifty thousand pounds.

He now set himself to cultivate parliamentary interest. His purchases of land seem to have been made in a great measure with that view, and, after the general election of 1761, he found himself in the House of Commons, at the head of a body of dependents whose support must have been important to any administration. In English politics, however, he did not take a prominent part. His first attach- 20 ments, as we have seen, were to Mr Fox, at a later period he was attracted by the genius and success of Mr Pitt; but finally he connected himself in the closest manner with George Grenville. Early in the session of 1764, when the illegal and impolitic persecution of that worthless demagogue Wilkes had strongly excited the public mind, the town was amused by an anecdote, which we have seen in some unpublished memoirs of Horace Walpole. Old Mr Richard Clive, who, since his son's elevation, had been introduced into society for which his former habits had not well fitted 30 him, presented himself at the levee. The King asked him where Lord Clive was. "He will be in town very soon," said the old gentleman, loud enough to be heard by the whole circle, "and then your Majesty will have another vote."

But in truth all Clive's views were directed towards the country in which he had so eminently distinguished himself

as a soldier and a statesman , and it was by considerations relating to India that his conduct as a public man in England was regulated The power of the Company, though an anomaly, is in our time, we are firmly persuaded, a beneficial anomaly In the time of Clive, it was not merely an anomaly, but a nuisance. There was no Board of Control The Directors were for the most part mere traders, ignorant of general politics, ignorant of the peculiarities of the empire which had strangely become subject to them The Court of Proprietors, wherever it chose to interfere, was able to have 10 its way That court was more numerous, as well as more powerful than at present ; for then every share of five hundred pounds conferred a vote The meetings were large, stormy, even riotous, the debates indecently virulent All the turbulence of a Westminster election, all the trickery and corruption of a Grampound election, disgraced the proceedings of this assembly on questions of the most solemn importance. Fictitious votes were manufactured on a gigantic scale. Clive himself laid out a hundred thousand pounds in the purchase of stock, which he then divided among nominal 20 proprietors on whom he could depend, and whom he brought down in his train, to every discussion and every ballot Others did the same, though not to quite so enormous an extent

The interest taken by the public of England in Indian questions was then far greater than at present, and the reason is obvious At present a writer enters the service young ; he climbs slowly , he is fortunate if, at forty-five, he can return to his country with an annuity of a thousand a year, and with savings amounting to thirty thousand 30 pounds. A great quantity of wealth is made by English functionaries in India , but no single functionary makes a very large fortune, and what is made is slowly, hardly, and honestly earned. Only four or five high political offices are reserved for public men from England. The residencies, the secretariats, the seats in the boards of revenue and in the

Sudder courts, are all filled by men who have given the best years of life to the service of the Company, nor can any talents however splendid or any connections however powerful obtain these lucrative posts for any person who has not entered by the regular door, and mounted by the regular gradations. Seventy years ago, less money was brought home from the East than in our time. But it was divided among a very much smaller number of persons, and immense sums were often accumulated in a few months. Any English-

10 man, whatever his age might be, might hope to be one of the lucky emigrants. If he made a good speech in Leadenhall Street, or published a clever pamphlet in defence of the chairman, he might be sent out in the Company's service, and might return in three or four years as rich as Pigot or as Clive. Thus the India House was a lottery office, which invited every body to take a chance, and held out ducal fortunes as the prizes destined for the lucky few. As soon as it was known that there was a part of the world where a lieutenant-colonel had one morning received as a present an

20 estate as large as that of the Earl of Bath or the Marquis of Rockingham, and where it seemed that such a trifle as ten or twenty thousand pounds was to be had by any British functionary for the asking, society began to exhibit all the symptoms of the South Sea year, a feverish excitement, an ungovernable impatience to be rich, a contempt for slow, sure, and moderate gains.

At the head of the preponderating party in the India House, had long stood a powerful, able, and ambitious director of the name of Sullivan. He had conceived a

30 strong jealousy of Clive, and remembered with bitterness the audacity with which the late governor of Bengal had repeatedly set at nought the authority of the distant Directors of the Company. An apparent reconciliation took place after Clive's arrival; but enmity remained deeply rooted in the hearts of both. The whole body of Directors was then chosen annually. At the election of 1763, Clive attempted

to break down the power of the dominant faction. The contest was carried on with a violence which he describes as tremendous. Sullivan was victorious, and hastened to take his revenge. The grant of rent which Clive had received from Meer Jaffier was, in the opinion of the best English lawyers, valid. It had been made by exactly the same authority from which the Company had received their chief possessions in Bengal, and the Company had long acquiesced in it. The Directors, however, most unjustly determined to confiscate it, and Clive was forced to file a bill in Chancery 10 against them.

But a great and sudden turn in affairs was at hand. Every ship from Bengal had for some time brought alarming tidings. The internal misgovernment of the province had reached such a point that it could go no further. What, indeed, was to be expected from a body of public servants exposed to temptation such that, as Clive once said, flesh and blood could not bear it, armed with irresistible power, and responsible only to the corrupt, turbulent, distracted, ill-informed Company, situated at such a distance that the average interval between 20 the sending of a despatch and the receipt of an answer was above a year and a half? Accordingly, during the five years which followed the departure of Clive from Bengal, the misgovernment of the English was carried to a point such as seems hardly compatible with the very existence of society. The Roman proconsul, who, in a year or two, squeezed out of a province the means of rearing marble palaces and baths on the shores of Campania, of drinking from amber, of feasting on singing birds, of exhibiting armies of gladiators and flocks of camelopards, the Spanish viceroy, who, leaving 30 behind him the curses of Mexico or Lima, entered Madrid with a long train of gilded coaches, and of sumpter-horses trapped and shod with silver, were now outdone. Cruelty, indeed, properly so called, was not among the vices of the servants of the Company. But cruelty itself could hardly have produced greater evils than sprang from their unprin-

cupled eagerness to be rich They pulled down their creature, Meer Jaffier They set up in his place another Nabob, named Meer Cossim But Meer Cossim had talents and a will ; and, though sufficiently inclined to oppress his subjects himself, he could not bear to see them ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit, nay, which destroyed his revenue in its very source The English accordingly pulled down Meer Cossim, and set up Meer Jaffier again ; and Meer Cossim, after revenging himself by a massacre
10 surpassing in atrocity that of the Black Hole, fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude At every one of these revolutions, the new prince divided among his foreign masters whatever could be scraped together from the treasury of his fallen predecessor The immense population of his dominions was given up as a prey to those who had made him a sovereign, and who could unmake him The servants of the Company obtained, not for their employers, but for themselves, a monopoly of almost the whole internal trade They forced the natives to buy dear and to sell cheap They
20 insulted with impunity the tribunals, the police, and the fiscal authorities of the country They covered with their protection a set of native dependents who ranged through the provinces, spreading desolation and terror wherever they appeared Every servant of a British factor was armed with all the power of his master , and his master was armed with all the power of the Company Enormous fortunes were thus rapidly accumulated at Calcutta, while thirty millions of human beings were reduced to the extremity of wretchedness They had been accustomed to live under tyranny, but
30 never under tyranny like this They found the little finger of the Company thicker than the loins of Surajah Dowlah Under their old masters they had at least one resource . when the evil became insupportable, the people rose and pulled down the government But the English government was not to be so shaken off That government, oppressive as the most oppressive form of barbarian despotism, was strong

with all the strength of civilisation. It resembled the government of evil Genu, rather than the government of human tyrants. Even despair could not inspire the soft Bengalee with courage to confront men of English breed, the hereditary nobility of mankind, whose skill and valour had so often triumphed in spite of tenfold odds. The unhappy race never attempted resistance. Sometimes they submitted in patient misery. Sometimes they fled from the white man, as their fathers had been used to fly from the Mahratta, and the palanquin of the English traveller was often carried 10 through silent villages and towns, which the report of his approach had made desolate.

The foreign lords of Bengal were naturally objects of hatred to all the neighbouring powers, and to all the haughty race presented a dauntless front. Their armies, every where outnumbered, were every where victorious. A succession of commanders, formed in the school of Clive, still maintained the fame of their country. "It must be acknowledged," says the Mussulman historian of those times, "that this nation's presence of mind, firmness of temper, and un- 20 daunted bravery, are past all question. They join the most resolute courage to the most cautious prudence; nor have they their equals in the art of ranging themselves in battle array and fighting in order. If to so many military qualifications they knew how to join the arts of government, if they exerted as much ingenuity and solicitude in relieving the people of God, as they do in whatever concerns their military affairs, no nation in the world would be preferable to them, or worthier of command. But the people under their dominion groan every where, and are reduced to poverty 30 and distress. Oh God! come to the assistance of thine afflicted servants, and deliver them from the oppressions which they suffer."

It was impossible, however, that even the military establishment should long continue exempt from the vices which pervaded every other part of the government. Rapacity,

luxury, and the spirit of insubordination spread from the civil service to the officers of the army, and from the officers to the soldiers. The evil continued to grow till every mess-room became the seat of conspiracy and cabal, and till the sepoys could be kept in order only by wholesale executions.

At length the state of things in Bengal began to excite uneasiness at home. A succession of revolutions, a disorganized administration, the natives pillaged, yet the Company not enriched, every fleet bringing back fortunate adventurers who were able to purchase manors and to build stately dwellings, yet bringing back also alarming accounts of the financial prospects of the government; war on the frontiers, disaffection in the army; the national character disgraced by excesses resembling those of Verres and Pizarro; such was the spectacle which dismayed those who were conversant with Indian affairs. The general cry was that Clive, and Clive alone, could save the empire which he had founded.

This feeling manifested itself in the strongest manner at a very full General Court of Proprietors. Men of all parties, forgetting their feuds and trembling for their dividends, exclaimed that Clive was the man whom the crisis required, that the oppressive proceedings which had been adopted respecting his estate ought to be dropped, and that he ought to be entreated to return to India.

Clive rose. As to his estate, he said, he would make such propositions to the Directors as would, he trusted, lead to an amicable settlement. But there was a still greater difficulty. It was proper to tell them that he never would undertake the government of Bengal while his enemy Sullivan was chairman of the Company. The tumult was violent. Sullivan could scarcely obtain a hearing. An overwhelming majority of the assembly was on Clive's side. Sullivan wished to try the result of a ballot. But, according to the by-laws of the Company, there can be no ballot except on a requisition signed by nine proprietors, and, though hundreds were

present, nine persons could not be found to set their hands to such a requisition.

Clive was in consequence nominated Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in Bengal. But he adhered to his declaration, and refused to enter on his office till the event of the next election of Directors should be known. The contest was obstinate; but Clive triumphed. Sullivan, lately absolute master of the India House, was within a vote of losing his own seat, and both the chairman and the deputy-chairman were friends of the new governor. 10

Such were the circumstances under which Lord Clive sailed for the third and last time to India. In May, 1765, he reached Calcutta, and he found the whole machine of government even more fearfully disorganized than he had anticipated. Meer Jaffier, who had some time before lost his eldest son Meeran, had died while Clive was on his voyage out. The English functionaries at Calcutta had already received from home strict orders not to accept presents from the native princes. But, eager for gain, and unaccustomed to respect the commands of their distant, 20 ignorant, and negligent masters, they again set up the throne of Bengal to sale. About one hundred and forty thousand pounds sterling was distributed among nine of the most powerful servants of the Company, and, in consideration of this bribe, an infant son of the deceased Nabob was placed on the seat of his father. The news of the ignominious bargain met Clive on his arrival. In a private letter written immediately after his landing to an intimate friend, he poured out his feelings in language which, proceeding from a man so daring, so resolute, and so little given to 30 theatrical display of sentiment, seems to us singularly touching. "Alas!" he says, "how is the English name sunk! I could not avoid paying the tribute of a few tears to the departed and lost fame of the British nation—irrecoverably so, I fear. However, I do declare, by that great Being who is the searcher of all hearts, and to whom we must be

accountable if there be a hereafter, that I am come out with a mind superior to all corruption, and that I am determined to destroy these great and growing evils, or perish in the attempt."

The Council met, and Clive stated to them his full determination to make a thorough reform, and to use for that purpose the whole of the ample authority, civil and military, which had been confided to him. Johnstone, one of the boldest and worst men in the assembly, made some show of
10 opposition. Clive interrupted him, and haughtily demanded whether he meant to question the power of the new government. Johnstone was cowed, and disclaimed any such intention. All the faces round the board grew long and pale; and not another syllable of dissent was uttered.

Clive redeemed his pledge. He remained in India about a year and a half, and in that short time effected one of the most extensive, difficult, and salutary reforms that ever was accomplished by any statesman. This was the part of his life on which he afterwards looked back with most pride.
20 He had it in his power to triple his already splendid fortune; to connive at abuses while pretending to remove them, to conciliate the good-will of all the English in Bengal, by giving up to their rapacity a helpless and timid race, who knew not where lay the island which sent forth their oppressors, and whose complaints had little chance of being heard across fifteen thousand miles of ocean. He knew that, if he applied himself in earnest to the work of reformation, he should raise every bad passion in arms against him. He knew how unscrupulous, how implacable, would
30 be the hatred of these ravenous adventurers who, having counted on accumulating in a few months fortunes sufficient to support peerages, should find all their hopes frustrated. But he had chosen the good part; and he called up all the force of his mind for a battle far harder than that of Plassey. At first success seemed hopeless; but soon all obstacles began to bend before that iron courage and that vehement

will The receiving of presents from the natives was rigidly prohibited The private trade of the servants of the Company was put down The whole settlement seemed to be set, as one man, against these measures. But the inexorable governor declared that, if he could not find support at Fort William, he would procure it elsewhere, and sent for some civil servants from Madras to assist him in carrying on the administration The most factious of his opponents he turned out of their offices The rest submitted to what was inevitable; and in a very short time all resistance was 10 quelled

But Clive was far too wise a man not to see that the recent abuses were partly to be ascribed to a cause which could not fail to produce similar abuses, as soon as the pressure of his strong hand was withdrawn The Company had followed a mistaken policy with respect to the remuneration of its servants The salaries were too low to afford even those indulgences which are necessary to the health and comfort of Europeans in a tropical climate To lay by a rupee from such scanty pay was impossible It could not be sup- 20 posed that men of even average abilities would consent to pass the best years of life in exile, under a burning sun, for no other consideration than these stinted wages It had accordingly been understood, from a very early period, that the Company's agents were at liberty to enrich themselves by their private trade This practice had been seriously injurious to the commercial interests of the corporation That very intelligent observer, Sir Thomas Roe, in the reign of James the First, strongly urged the Directors to apply a remedy to the abuse "Absolutely prohibit the private 30 trade," said he; "for your business will be better done I know this is harsh Men profess they come not for bare wages But you will take away this plea if you give great wages to their content; and then you know what you part from"

In spite of this excellent advice, the Company adhered to

the old system, paid low salaries, and connived at the indirect gains of the agents. The pay of a member of Council was only three hundred pounds a year. Yet it was notorious that such a functionary could not live in India for less than ten times that sum, and it could not be expected that he would be content to live even handsomely in India without laying up something against the time of his return to England. This system, before the conquest of Bengal, might affect the amount of the dividends payable to the proprietors, 10 but could do little harm in any other way. But the Company was now a ruling body. Its servants might still be called factors, junior merchants, senior merchants. But they were in truth proconsuls, propraetors, procurators of extensive regions. They had immense power. Their regular pay was universally admitted to be insufficient. They were, by the ancient usage of the service, and by the implied permission of their employers, warranted in enriching themselves by indirect means, and this had been the origin of the frightful oppression and corruption which had desolated 20 Bengal. Clive saw clearly that it was absurd to give men power, and to require them to live in penury. He justly concluded that no reform could be effectual which should not be coupled with a plan for liberally remunerating the civil servants of the Company. The Directors, he knew, were not disposed to sanction any increase of the salaries out of their own treasury. The only course which remained open to the governor was one which exposed him to much misrepresentation, but which we think him fully justified in adopting. He appropriated to the support of the service 30 the monopoly of salt, which has formed, down to our own time, a principal head of Indian revenue; and he divided the proceeds according to a scale which seems to have been not unreasonably fixed. He was in consequence accused by his enemies, and has been accused by historians, of disobeying his instructions, of violating his promises, of authorising that very abuse which it was his special mission to destroy,

namely, the trade of the Company's servants. But every discerning and impartial judge will admit, that there was really nothing in common between the system which he set up and that which he was sent to destroy. The monopoly of salt had been a source of revenue to the governments of India before Clive was born. It continued to be so long after his death. The civil servants were clearly entitled to a maintenance out of the revenue, and all that Clive did was to charge a particular portion of the revenue with their maintenance. He thus, while he put an end to the practices 10 by which gigantic fortunes had been rapidly accumulated, gave to every British functionary employed in the East the means of slowly, but surely, acquiring a competence. Yet such is the injustice of mankind that none of those acts which are the real stains of his life has drawn on him so much obloquy as this measure, which was in truth a reform necessary to the success of all his other reforms.

He had quelled the opposition of the civil service that of the army was more formidable. Some of the retrenchments which had been ordered by the Directors affected the 20 interests of the military service; and a storm arose, such as even Cæsar would not willingly have faced. It was no light thing to encounter the resistance of those who held the power of the sword, in a country governed only by the sword. Two hundred English officers engaged in a conspiracy against the government, and determined to resign their commissions on the same day, not doubting that Clive would grant any terms rather than see the army, on which alone the British empire in the East rested, left without commanders. They little knew the unconquerable spirit 30 with which they had to deal. Clive had still a few officers round his person on whom he could rely. He sent to Fort St George for a fresh supply. He gave commissions even to mercantile agents who were disposed to support him at this crisis; and he sent orders that every officer who resigned should be instantly brought up to Calcutta. The

conspirators found that they had miscalculated. The governor was inexorable. The troops were steady. The sepoy, over whom Clive had always possessed extraordinary influence, stood by him with unshaken fidelity. The leaders in the plot were arrested, tried, and cashiered. The rest, humbled and dispirited, begged to be permitted to withdraw their resignations. Many of them declared their repentance even with tears. The younger offenders Clive treated with lenity. To the ringleaders he was inflexibly severe, but
10 his severity was pure from all taint of private malevolence. While he sternly upheld the just authority of his office, he passed by personal insults and injuries with magnanimous disdain. One of the conspirators was accused of having planned the assassination of the governor; but Clive would not listen to the charge. "The officers," he said, "are Englishmen, not assassins."

While he reformed the civil service and established his authority over the army, he was equally successful in his foreign policy. His landing on Indian ground was the
20 signal for immediate peace. The Nabob of Oude, with a large army, lay at that time on the frontier of Bahar. He had been joined by many Afghans and Mahrattas, and there was no small reason to expect a general coalition of all the native powers against the English. But the name of Clive quelled in an instant all opposition. The enemy implored peace in the humblest language, and submitted to such terms as the new governor chose to dictate.

At the same time, the government of Bengal was placed on a new footing. The power of the English in that province
30 had hitherto been altogether undefined. It was unknown to the ancient constitution of the empire, and it had been ascertained by no compact. It resembled the power which, in the last decrepitude of the Western Empire, was exercised over Italy by the great chiefs of foreign mercenaries, the Ricimers and the Odoacers, who put up and pulled down at their pleasure a succession of insignificant princes, dignified

with the names of Cæsar and Augustus But as in Italy, so in India, the warlike strangers at length found it expedient to give to a domination which had been established by arms the sanction of law and ancient prescription Theodoric thought it politic to obtain from the distant court of Byzantium a commission appointing him ruler of Italy, and Clive, in the same manner, applied to the Court of Delhi for a formal grant of the powers of which he already possessed the reality The Mogul was absolutely helpless; and, though he murmured, had reason to be well pleased 10 that the English were disposed to give solid rupees which he never could have extorted from them, in exchange for a few Persian characters which cost him nothing A bargain was speedily struck, and the titular sovereign of Hindostan issued a warrant, empowering the Company to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar

There was still a Nabob, who stood to the British authorities in the same relation in which the last drivelling Chilperics and Childerics of the Merovingian line stood to their able and vigorous Mayors of the Palace, to Charles 20 Martel and to Pepin. At one time Clive had almost made up his mind to discard this phantom altogether; but he afterwards thought that it might be convenient still to use the name of the Nabob, particularly in dealings with other European nations The French, the Dutch, and the Danes would, he conceived, submit far more readily to the authority of the native Prince, whom they had always been accustomed to respect, than to that of a rival trading corporation This policy may, at that time, have been judicious But the pretence was soon found to be too flimsy to impose 30 on any body, and it was altogether laid aside The heir of Meer Jaffier still resides at Moorshedabad, the ancient capital of his house, still bears the title of Nabob, is still accosted by the English as "Your Highness," and is still suffered to retain a portion of the regal state which surrounded his ancestors A pension of a hundred and sixty

thousand pounds a year is annually paid to him by the government. His carriage is surrounded by guards, and preceded by attendants with silver maces. His person and his dwelling are exempted from the ordinary authority of the ministers of justice. But he has not the smallest share of political power, and is, in fact, only a noble and wealthy subject of the Company.

It would have been easy for Clive, during his second administration in Bengal, to accumulate riches such as no
10 subject in Europe possessed. He might indeed, without subjecting the rich inhabitants of the province to any pressure beyond that to which their mildest rulers had accustomed them, have received presents to the amount of three hundred thousand pounds a year. The neighbouring princes would gladly have paid any price for his favour. But he appears to have strictly adhered to the rules which he had laid down for the guidance of others. The Rajah of Benares offered him diamonds of great value. The Nabob of Oude pressed him to accept a large sum of money and a
20 casket of costly jewels. Clive courteously, but peremptorily refused, and it should be observed that he made no merit of his refusal, and that the facts did not come to light till after his death. He kept an exact account of his salary, of his share of the profits accruing from the trade in salt, and of those presents which, according to the fashion of the East, it would be churlish to refuse. Out of the sum arising from these resources he defrayed the expenses of his situation. The surplus he divided among a few attached friends who had accompanied him to India. He always boasted, and, as
30 far as we can judge, he boasted with truth, that his last administration diminished instead of increasing his fortune.

One large sum indeed he accepted. Meer Jaffier had left him by will above sixty thousand pounds sterling in specie and jewels, and the rules which had been recently laid down extended only to presents from the living, and did not affect legacies from the dead. Clive took the

money, but not for himself. He made the whole over to the Company, in trust for officers and soldiers invalided in their service. The fund which still bears his name owes its origin to this princely donation.

After a stay of eighteen months, the state of his health made it necessary for him to return to Europe. At the close of January, 1767, he quitted for the last time the country on whose destinies he had exercised so mighty an influence.

His second return from Bengal was not, like his first, 10 greeted by the acclamations of his countrymen. Numerous causes were already at work which embittered the remaining years of his life, and hurried him to an untimely grave. His old enemies at the India house were still powerful and active, and they had been reinforced by a large band of allies whose violence far exceeded their own. The whole crew of pilferers and oppressors from whom he had rescued Bengal persecuted him with the implacable rancour which belongs to such abject natures. Many of them even invested their property in India stock, merely 20 that they might be better able to annoy the man whose firmness had set bounds to their rapacity. Lying newspapers were set up for no purpose but to abuse him, and the temper of the public mind was then such, that these arts, which under ordinary circumstances, would have been ineffectual against truth and merit, produced an extraordinary impression.

The great events which had taken place in India had called into existence a new class of Englishmen, to whom their countrymen gave the name of Nabobs. These persons 30 had generally sprung from families neither ancient nor opulent; they had generally been sent at an early age to the East; and they had there acquired large fortunes, which they had brought back to their native land. It was natural that, not having had much opportunity of mixing with the best society, they should exhibit some of the

- awkwardness and some of the pomposity of upstarts It was natural that, during their sojourn in Asia, they should have acquired some tastes and habits surprising, if not disgusting, to persons who never had quitted Europe. It was natural that, having enjoyed great consideration in the East, they should not be disposed to sink into obscurity at home, and as they had money, and had not birth or high connection, it was natural that they should display a little obtrusively the single advantage which they possessed
- 10 Wherever they settled there was a kind of feud between them and the old nobility and gentry, similar to that which raged in France between the farmer-general and the marquis This enmity to the aristocracy long continued to distinguish the servants of the Company. More than twenty years after the time of which we are now speaking, Burke pronounced that among the Jacobins might be reckoned "the East Indians almost to a man, who cannot bear to find that their present importance does not bear a proportion to their wealth."
- 20 The Nabobs soon became a most unpopular class of men. Some of them had in the East displayed eminent talents, and rendered great services to the state, but at home their talents were not shown to advantage, and their services were little known That they had sprung from obscurity, that they had acquired great wealth, that they exhibited it insolently, that they spent it extravagantly, that they raised the price of every thing in their neighbourhood, from fresh eggs to rotten boroughs, that their liveries outshone those of dukes, that their coaches were
- 30 finer than that of the Lord Mayor, that the examples of their large and ill-governed households corrupted half the servants in the country, that some of them, with all their magnificence, could not catch the tone of good society, but, in spite of the stud and the crowd of menials, of the plate and the Dresden china, of the venison and the Burgundy, were still low men; these were things which

excited, both in the class from which they had sprung and in the class into which they attempted to force themselves, the bitter aversion which is the effect of mingled envy and contempt. But when it was also rumoured that the fortune which had enabled its possessor to eclipse the Lord-Lieutenant on the race-ground, or to carry the county against the head of a house as old as Domesday Book, had been accumulated by violating public faith, by deposing legitimate princes, by reducing whole provinces to beggary, all the higher and better as well as all the low and evil 10 parts of human nature were stirred against the wretch who had obtained by guilt and dishonour the riches which he now lavished with arrogant and inelegant profusion. The unfortunate Nabob seemed to be made up of those foibles against which comedy has pointed the most merciless ridicule, and of those crimes which have thrown the deepest gloom over tragedy, of Turcaret and Nero, of Monsieur Jourdain and Richard the Third. A tempest of execration and derision, such as can be compared only to that outbreak of public feeling against the Puritans 20 which took place at the time of the Restoration, burst on the servants of the Company. The humane man was horror-struck at the way in which they had got their money, the thrifty man at the way in which they spent it. The dilettante sneered at their want of taste. The maccaroni black-balled them as vulgar fellows. Writers the most unlike in sentiment and style, Methodists and libertines, philosophers and buffoons, were for once on the same side. It is hardly too much to say that, during a space of about thirty years, the whole lighter literature 30 of England was coloured by the feelings which we have described. Foote brought on the stage an Anglo-Indian chief, dissolute, ungenerous, and tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy, yet childishly eager to be numbered among them, squandering his wealth on pandars and flatterers, tricking out his

chairmen with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires Mackenzie, with more delicate humour, depicted a plain country family raised by the Indian acquisitions of one of its members to sudden opulence, and exciting derision by an awkward mimicry of the manners of the great Cowper, in that lofty expostulation which glows with the very spirit of the Hebrew poets, placed the oppression of India foremost in the list
10 of those national crimes for which God had punished England with years of disastrous war, with discomfiture in her own seas, and with the loss of her transatlantic empire If any of our readers will take the trouble to search in the dusty recesses of circulating libraries for some novel published sixty years ago, the chance is that the villain or sub-villain of the story will prove to be a savage old Nabob, with an immense fortune, a tawny complexion, a bad liver, and a worse heart

Such, as far as we can now judge, was the feeling of
20 the country respecting Nabobs in general And Clive was eminently the Nabob, the ablest, the most celebrated, the highest in rank, the highest in fortune, of all the fraternity. His wealth was exhibited in a manner which could not fail to excite odium He lived with great magnificence in Berkeley Square He reared one palace in Shropshire and another at Claremont. His parliamentary influence might vie with that of the greatest families. But in all this splendour and power envy found something to sneer at On some of his relations wealth and dignity seem to
30 have sat as awkwardly as on Mackenzie's Margery Mushroom. Nor was he himself, with all his great qualities, free from those weaknesses which the satirists of that age represented as characteristic of his whole class In the field, indeed, his habits were remarkably simple He was constantly on horseback, was never seen but in his uniform, never wore silk, never entered a palanquin, and was content

with the plainest fare But when he was no longer at the head of an army, he laid aside this Spartan temperance for the ostentatious luxury of a Sybarite Though his person was ungraceful, and though his harsh features were redeemed from vulgar ugliness only by their stern, dauntless and commanding expression, he was fond of rich and gay clothing, and replenished his wardrobe with absurd profusion Sir John Malcolm gives us a letter worthy of Sir Matthew Mite, in which Clive orders "two hundred shirts, the best and finest that can be got for love or money." A 10 few follies of this description, grossly exaggerated by report, produced an unfavourable impression on the public mind But this was not the worst Black stories, of which the greater part were pure inventions, were circulated respecting his conduct in the East. He had to bear the whole odium, not only of those bad acts to which he had once or twice stooped, but of all the bad acts of all the English in India, of bad acts committed when he was absent, nay, of bad acts which he had manfully opposed and severely punished The very abuses against which he had waged an 20 honest, resolute, and successful war, were laid to his account He was, in fact, regarded as the personification of all the vices and weaknesses which the public, with or without reason, ascribed to the English adventurers in Asia. We have ourselves heard old men, who knew nothing of his history, but who still retained the prejudices conceived in their youth, talk of him as an incarnate fiend Johnson always held this language Brown, whom Clive employed to lay out his pleasure grounds, was amazed to see in the house of his noble employer a chest which had once been 30 filled with gold from the treasury of Moorshedabad, and could not understand how the conscience of the criminal could suffer him to sleep with such an object so near to his bedchamber. The peasantry of Surrey looked with mysterious horror on the stately house which was rising at Claremont, and whispered that the great wicked lord had

ordered the walls to be made so thick in order to keep out the devil, who would one day carry him away bodily. Among the gaping clowns who drank in this frightful story was a worthless ugly lad of the name of Hunter, since widely known as William Huntington, S S ; and the superstition which was strangely mingled with the knavery of that remarkable impostor seems to have derived no small nutriment from the tales which he heard of the life and character of Clive.

- 10 In the mean time, the impulse which Clive had given to the administration of Bengal was constantly becoming fainter and fainter. His policy was to a great extent abandoned ; the abuses which he had suppressed began to revive , and at length the evils which a bad government had engendered were aggravated by one of those fearful visitations which the best government cannot avert. In the summer of 1770, the rains failed ; the earth was parched up , the tanks were empty , the rivers shrank within their beds ; and a famine, such as is known only in countries
- 20 where every household depends for support on its own little patch of cultivation, filled the whole valley of the Ganges with misery and death. Tender and delicate women, whose veils had never been lifted before the public gaze, came forth from the inner chambers in which Eastern jealousy had kept watch over their beauty, threw themselves on the earth before the passers-by, and, with loud wailings, implored a handful of rice for their children. The Hoogley every day rolled down thousands of corpses close to the porticoes and gardens of the English conquerors. The very
- 30 streets of Calcutta were blocked up by the dying and the dead. The lean and feeble survivors had not energy enough to bear the bodies of their kindred to the funeral pile or to the holy river, or even to scare away the jackals and vultures, who fed on human remains in the face of day. The extent of the mortality was never ascertained ; but it was popularly reckoned by millions. This melancholy in-

telligence added to the excitement which already prevailed in England on Indian subjects. The proprietors of East India stock were uneasy about their dividends. All men of common humanity were touched by the calamities of our unhappy subjects, and indignation soon began to mingle itself with pity. It was rumoured that the Company's servants had created the famine by engrossing all the rice of the country, that they had sold grain for eight, ten, twelve times the price at which they had bought it, that one English functionary who, the year before, was not 10 worth a hundred guineas, had, during that season of misery, remitted sixty thousand pounds to London. These charges we believe to have been unfounded. That servants of the Company had ventured, since Clive's departure, to deal in rice, is probable. That, if they dealt in rice, they must have gained by the scarcity, is certain. But there is no reason for thinking that they either produced or aggravated an evil which physical causes sufficiently explain. The outcry which was raised against them on this occasion was, we suspect, as absurd as the imputations which, in times of dearth at 20 home, were once thrown by statesmen and judges, and are still thrown by two or three old women, on the corn factors. It was, however, so loud and so general that it appears to have imposed even on an intellect raised so high above vulgar prejudices as that of Adam Smith. What was still more extraordinary, these unhappy events greatly increased the unpopularity of Lord Clive. He had been some years in England when the famine took place. None of his measures had the smallest tendency to produce such a calamity. If the servants of the Company had traded in rice, they had 30 done so in direct contravention of the rule which he had laid down, and, while in power, had resolutely enforced. But, in the eyes of his countrymen, he was, as we have said, the Nabob, the Anglo-Indian character personified, and, while he was building and planting in Surrey, he was held responsible for all the effects of a dry season in Bengal.

Parliament had hitherto bestowed very little attention on our Eastern possessions. Since the death of George the Second, a rapid succession of weak administrations, each of which was in turn flattered and betrayed by the Court, had held the semblance of power. Intrigues in the palace, riots in the capital, and insurrectionary movements in the American colonies, had left the advisers of the Crown little leisure to study Indian politics. Where they did interfere, their interference was feeble and irresolute. Lord Chatham, 10 indeed, during the short period of his ascendancy in the councils of George the Third, had meditated a bold and sweeping measure respecting the acquisitions of the Company. But his plans were rendered abortive by the strange malady which about that time began to overcloud his splendid genius.

At length, in 1772, it was generally felt that Parliament could no longer neglect the affairs of India. The Government was stronger than any which had held power since the breach between Mr. Pitt and the great Whig connection in 20 1761. No pressing question of domestic or European policy required the attention of public men. There was a short and delusive lull between two tempests. The excitement produced by the Middlesex election was over; the discontents of America did not yet threaten civil war, the financial difficulties of the Company brought on a crisis, the Ministers were forced to take up the subject, and the whole storm, which had long been gathering, now broke at once on the head of Clive.

His situation was indeed singularly unfortunate. He was 30 hated throughout the country, hated at the India House, hated, above all, by those wealthy and powerful servants of the Company, whose rapacity and tyranny he had withstood. He had to bear the double odium of his bad and of his good actions, of every Indian abuse and of every Indian reform. The state of the political world was such that he could count on the support of no powerful con-

nection The party to which he had belonged, that of George Grenville, had been hostile to the Government, and yet had never cordially united with the other sections of the Opposition, with the little band which still followed the fortunes of Lord Chatham, or with the large and respectable body of which Lord Rockingham was the acknowledged leader George Grenville was now dead, his followers were scattered, and Clive, unconnected with any of the powerful factions which divided the Parliament, could reckon only on the votes of those members who were returned by him- 10 self His enemies, particularly those who were the enemies of his virtues, were unscrupulous, ferocious, implacable Their malevolence aimed at nothing less than the utter ruin of his fame and fortune. They wished to see him expelled from Parliament, to see his spurs chopped off, to see his estate confiscated, and it may be doubted whether even such a result as this would have quenched their thirst for revenge.

Clive's parliamentary tactics resembled his military tactics. Deserted, surrounded, outnumbered, and with every thing 20 at stake, he did not even deign to stand on the defensive, but pushed boldly forward to the attack At an early stage of the discussions on Indian affairs he rose, and in a long and elaborate speech vindicated himself from a large part of the accusations which had been brought against him He is said to have produced a great impression on his audience Lord Chatham, who, now the ghost of his former self, loved to haunt the scene of his glory, was that night under the gallery of the House of Commons, and declared that he had never heard a finer 30 speech It was subsequently printed under Clive's direction, and, when the fullest allowance has been made for the assistance which he may have obtained from literary friends, proves him to have possessed, not merely strong sense and a manly spirit, but talents both for disquisition and declamation which assiduous culture might have

improved into the highest excellence. He confined his defence on this occasion to the measures of his last administration, and succeeded so far that his enemies thenceforth thought it expedient to direct their attacks chiefly against the earlier part of his life.

The earlier part of his life unfortunately presented some assailable points to their hostility. A committee was chosen by ballot to inquire into the affairs of India, and by this committee the whole history of that great revolution which threw down Surajah Dowlah and raised Meer Jaffier was sifted with malignant care. Clive was subjected to the most unsparing examination and cross examination, and afterwards bitterly complained that he, the Baron of Plassey, had been treated like a sheep-stealer. The boldness and ingenuousness of his replies would alone suffice to show how alien from his nature were the frauds to which, in the course of his Eastern negotiations, he had sometimes descended. He avowed the arts which he had employed to deceive Omichund, and resolutely said
20 that he was not ashamed of them, and that, in the same circumstances, he would again act in the same manner. He admitted that he had received immense sums from Meer Jaffier, but he denied that, in doing so, he had violated any obligation of morality or honour. He laid claim, on the contrary, and not without some reason, to the praise of eminent disinterestedness. He described in vivid language the situation in which his victory had placed him, a great prince dependent on his pleasure, an opulent city afraid of being given up to plunder
30 wealthy bankers bidding against each other for his smiles, vaults piled with gold and jewels thrown open to him alone. "By God, Mr Chairman," he exclaimed, "at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation."

The inquiry was so extensive that the Houses rose before it had been completed. It was continued in the following session. When at length the committee had

concluded its labours, enlightened and impartial men had little difficulty in making up their minds as to the result. It was clear that Clive had been guilty of some acts which it is impossible to vindicate without attacking the authority of all the most sacred laws which regulate the intercourse of individuals and of states. But it was equally clear that he had displayed great talents, and even great virtues, that he had rendered eminent services both to his country and to the people of India, and that it was in truth not for his dealings with Meer Jaffer 10 nor for the fraud which he had practised on Omichund, but for his determined resistance to avarice and tyranny, that he was now called in question.

Ordinary criminal justice knows nothing of set-off. The greatest desert cannot be pleaded in answer to a charge of the slightest transgression. If a man has sold beer on Sunday morning, it is no defence that he has saved the life of a fellow-creature at the risk of his own. If he has harnessed a Newfoundland dog to his little child's carriage, it is no defence that he was wounded at Waterloo. But 20 it is not in this way that we ought to deal with men who, raised far above ordinary restraints, and tried by far more than ordinary temptations, are entitled to a more than ordinary measure of indulgence. Such men should be judged by their contemporaries as they will be judged by posterity. Their bad actions ought not, indeed, to be called good, but their good and bad actions ought to be fairly weighed, and, if on the whole the good preponderate, the sentence ought to be one, not merely of acquittal, but of approbation. Not a single great ruler in history can be 30 absolved by a judge who fixes his eye inexorably on one or two unjustifiable acts. Bruce the deliverer of Scotland, Maurice the deliverer of Germany, William the deliverer of Holland, his great descendant the deliverer of England, Murray the good regent, Cosmo the father of his country, Henry the Fourth of France, Peter the Great of Russia,

how would the best of them pass such a scrutiny? History takes wider views, and the best tribunal for great political cases is the tribunal which anticipates the verdict of history

Reasonable and moderate men of all parties felt this in Clive's case. They could not pronounce him blameless, but they were not disposed to abandon him to that low-minded and rancorous pack who had run him down and were eager to worry him to death. Lord North, though
10 not very friendly to him, was not disposed to go to extremities against him. While the inquiry was still in progress, Clive, who had some years before been created a Knight of the Bath, was installed with great pomp in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. He was soon after appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Shropshire. When he kissed hands, George the Third, who had always been partial to him, admitted him to a private audience, talked to him half an hour on Indian politics, and was visibly affected when the persecuted general spoke of his services and of
20 the way in which they had been requited.

At length the charges came in a definite form before the House of Commons. Burgoyne, chairman of the committee, a man of wit, fashion, and honour, an agreeable dramatic writer, an officer whose courage was never questioned and whose skill was at that time highly esteemed, appeared as the accuser. The members of the administration took different sides, for in that age all questions were open questions, except such as were brought forward by the Government, or such as implied some censure on
30 the Government. Thurlow, the Attorney-General, was among the assailants. Wedderburne, the Solicitor-General, strongly attached to Clive, defended his friend with extraordinary force of argument and language. It is a curious circumstance that, some years later, Thurlow was the most conspicuous champion of Warren Hastings, while Wedderburne was among the most unrelenting persecutors

of that great though not faultless statesman Clive spoke in his own defence at less length and with less art than in the preceding year, but with much energy and pathos. He recounted his great actions and his wrongs, and, after bidding his hearers remember that they were about to decide not only on his honour but on their own, he retired from the House.

The Commons resolved that acquisitions made by the arms of the State belong to the State alone, and that it is illegal in the servants of the State to appropriate such acquisitions 10 to themselves. They resolved that this wholesome rule appeared to have been systematically violated by the English functionaries in Bengal. On a subsequent day they went a step farther, and resolved that Clive had, by means of the power which he possessed as commander of the British forces in India, obtained large sums from Meer Jaffier. Here the House stopped. They had voted the major and minor of Burgoyne's syllogism, but they shrank from drawing the logical conclusion. When it was moved that Lord Clive had abused his powers, and set an evil example to the servants of 20 the public, the previous question was put and carried. At length, long after the sun had risen on an animated debate, Wedderburne moved that Lord Clive had at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country, and this motion passed without a division.

The result of this memorable inquiry appears to us, on the whole, honourable to the justice, moderation, and discernment of the Commons. They had indeed no great temptation to do wrong. They would have been very bad judges of an accusation brought against Jenkinson or against 30 Wilkes. But the question respecting Clive was not a party question, and the House accordingly acted with the good sense and good feeling which may always be expected from an assembly of English gentlemen, not blinded by faction.

The equitable and temperate proceedings of the British

Parliament were set off to the greatest advantage by a foil. The wretched government of Louis the Fifteenth had murdered, directly or indirectly, almost every Frenchman who had served his country with distinction in the East. Labourdonnais was flung into the Bastille, and, after years of suffering, left it only to die. Dupleix, stripped of his immense fortune, and broken-hearted by humiliating attendance in antechambers, sank into an obscure grave. Lally was dragged to the common place of execution with a gag
10 between his lips. The Commons of England, on the other hand, treated their living captain with that discriminating justice which is seldom shown except to the dead. They laid down sound general principles; they delicately pointed out where he had deviated from those principles, and they tempered the gentle censure with liberal eulogy. The contrast struck Voltaire, always partial to England, and always eager to expose the abuses of the Parliaments of France. Indeed he seems, at this time, to have meditated a history of the conquest of Bengal. He mentioned his design to Dr.
20 Moore when that amusing writer visited him at Ferney. Wedderburne took great interest in the matter, and pressed Clive to furnish materials. Had the plan been carried into execution, we have no doubt that Voltaire would have produced a book containing much lively and picturesque narrative, many just and humane sentiments poignantly expressed, many grotesque blunders, many sneers at the Mosaic chronology, much scandal about the Catholic missionaries, and much sublime theophilanthropy, stolen from the New Testament, and put into the mouths of virtuous and philosophical
30 Brahmins.

Clive was now secure in the enjoyment of his fortune and his honours. He was surrounded by attached friends and relations, and he had not yet passed the season of vigorous bodily and mental exertion. But clouds had long been gathering over his mind, and now settled on it in thick darkness. From early youth he had been subject to fits of

that strange melancholy "which rejoiceth exceedingly and is glad when it can find the grave" While still a writer at Madras, he had twice attempted to destroy himself Business and prosperity had produced a salutary effect on his spirits In India, while he was occupied by great affairs, in England, while wealth and rank had still the charm of novelty, he had borne up against his constitutional misery But he had now nothing to do, and nothing to wish for His active spirit in an inactive situation drooped and withered like a plant in an uncongenial air The malignity with which his enemies had 10 pursued him, the indignity with which he had been treated by the committee, the censure, lenient as it was, which the House of Commons had pronounced, the knowledge that he was regarded by a large portion of his countrymen as a cruel and perfidious tyrant, all concurred to irritate and depress him In the mean time, his temper was tried by acute physical suffering During his long residence in tropical climates, he had contracted several painful distempers In order to obtain ease he called in the help of opium, and he was gradually enslaved by this treacherous ally To the 20 last, however, his genius occasionally flashed through the gloom It is said that he would sometimes, after sitting silent and torpid for hours, rouse himself to the discussion of some great question, would display in full vigour all the talents of the soldier and the statesman, and would then sink back into his melancholy repose

The disputes with America had now become so serious that an appeal to the sword seemed inevitable, and the Ministers were desirous to avail themselves of the services of Clive Had he still been what he was when he raised the 30 siege of Patna, and annihilated the Dutch army and navy at the mouth of the Ganges, it is not improbable that the resistance of the Colonists would have been put down, and that the inevitable separation would have been deferred for a few years But it was too late His strong mind was fast sinking under many kinds of suffering On the twenty-

second of November, 1774, he died by his own hand. He had just completed his forty-ninth year.

In the awful close of so much prosperity and glory, the vulgar saw only a confirmation of all their prejudices, and some men of real piety and genius so far forgot the maxims both of religion and of philosophy as confidently to ascribe the mournful event to the just vengeance of God, and to the horrors of an evil conscience. It is with very different feelings that we contemplate the spectacle of a great mind
10 ruined by the weariness of satiety, by the pangs of wounded honour, by fatal diseases, and more fatal remedies.

Clive committed great faults, and we have not attempted to disguise them. But his faults, when weighed against his merits, and viewed in connection with his temptations, do not appear to us to deprive him of his right to an honourable place in the estimation of posterity.

From his first visit to India dates the renown of the English arms in the East. Till he appeared, his countrymen were despised as mere pedlars, while the French were revered
20 as a people formed for victory and command. His courage and capacity dissolved the charm. With the defence of Arcot commences that long series of Oriental triumphs which closes with the fall of Ghizni. Nor must we forget that he was only twenty-five years old when he approved himself ripe for military command. This is a rare if not a singular distinction. It is true that Alexander, Condé, and Charles the Twelfth, won great battles at a still earlier age, but those princes were surrounded by veteran generals of distinguished skill, to whose suggestions must be attributed the
30 victories of the Granicus, of Rocroi, and of Narva. Clive, an inexperienced youth, had yet more experience than any of those who served under him. He had to form himself, to form his officers, and to form his army. The only man, as far as we recollect, who at an equally early age ever gave equal proof of talents for war, was Napoleon Bonaparte.

From Clive's second visit to India dates the political ascendancy of the English in that country. His dexterity and resolution realised, in the course of a few months, more than all the gorgeous visions which had floated before the imagination of Dupleix. Such an extent of cultivated territory, such an amount of revenue, such a multitude of subjects, was never added to the dominion of Rome by the most successful proconsul. Nor were such wealthy spoils ever borne under arches of triumph, down the Sacred Way, and through the crowded Forum, 10 to the threshold of Tarpeian Jove. The fame of those who subdued Antiochus and Tigranes grows dim when compared with the splendour of the exploits which the young English adventurer achieved at the head of an army not equal in numbers to one half of a Roman legion.

From Clive's third visit to India dates the purity of the administration of our Eastern empire. When he landed in Calcutta in 1765, Bengal was regarded as a place to which Englishmen were sent only to get rich, 20 by any means, in the shortest possible time. He first made dauntless and unsparing war on that gigantic system of oppression, extortion, and corruption. In that war he manfully put to hazard his ease, his fame, and his splendid fortune. The same sense of justice which forbids us to conceal or extenuate the faults of his earlier days compels us to admit that those faults were nobly repaired. If the reproach of the Company and of its servants has been taken away, if in India the yoke of foreign masters, elsewhere the heaviest of all yokes, has 30 been found lighter than that of any native dynasty, if to that gang of public robbers which formerly spread terror through the whole plain of Bengal has succeeded a body of functionaries not more highly distinguished by ability and diligence than by integrity, disinterestedness, and public spirit, if we now see such men as Munro,

Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, after leading victorious armies, after making and deposing kings, return, proud of their honourable poverty, from a land which once held out to every greedy factor the hope of boundless wealth, the praise is in no small measure due to Clive. His name stands high on the roll of conquerors. But it is found in a better list, in the list of those who have done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind. To the warrior, history will assign a place in the same rank with
10 Lucullus and Trajan. Nor will she deny to the reformer a share of that veneration with which France cherishes the memory of Turgot, and with which the latest generations of Hindoos will contemplate the statue of Lord William Bentinck.

NOTES

1 5 **Montezuma Atahualpa**, the last native kings of Mexico and Peru, conquered respectively by Cortes and Pizarro, 1520-1533

8-11 On the first three names, see Intr § 9 Holkar was a Mahratta, § 2

12 **savages** Macaulay's love of rhetorical contrast often leads him into exaggeration The Mexicans were by no means so uncivilised as he says

2 1 **Ferdinand** the 5th, king of Aragon, unified the kingdom of Spain (1) by his marriage with Isabella of Spain, (2) by conquering Granada from the Moors, 1452-1516

3 **The Great Captain** Gonsalvo Hernandez de Cordova, famous in Ferdinand's Moorish Wars

12 **Mill** (1773-1836) wrote the *History of British India*

14 **Orme** (1728-81) wrote the *History of the Military transactions of the British in India*

24 **Malcolm**, distinguished as a soldier and administrator, he wrote, besides Clive's life, a history of Persia

25 **Powis** Clive's eldest son, Edward, governor of Madras in 1798, was created Earl of Powis in 1805

3, 3 **passes** 2 *Sam* 1 26

4 18 See Glossary A

22 **East India College** Civilians were trained at Haileybury College from 1806-58 In 1864 the buildings were taken over by the well-known Public School

5, 2 **miserably paid** It is stated that a writer received only £5 a year, a senior merchant but £40

6 **Madras**, founded 1639 The Bengal Settlements were established later, and were at first subordinate to Madras

12 **gourd** See *Jonah* iv 5-10

24 **voyage by the Cape** The overland route from Alexandria to Suez did not take the place of the route round the Cape till 1840 The Suez Canal was completed in 1869

6. 1-14 See Glossary A

8 **Nizam** The ruler of Haidarābād has more real power in internal affairs than Macaulay allows

9 **cantonment** at Sikanderābād

11 **Mogul** Macaulay wrote in 1840 The last Emperor of Delhi, Bahadur II, was deposed in 1857 for his share in the Mutiny

7. 21 **Writers' Buildings**, the quarters of young servants of the Company fresh from England

24 **Wallenstein**, the famous Imperialist General in the Thirty Years' War When a youth he fell without injury from a second floor window

31 **Austrian Succession** By the Pragmatic Sanction the Emperor, Charles VI, had tried to secure the Succession to his Austrian dominions for his daughter, Maria Theresa When he died two rival claimants appeared The war broke out in 1742

33 **Bourbon** The reigning dynasties in both France and Spain were of this family.

8. 3 **Labourdonnais**. As governor of the Isle of France and Mauritius, 1734-7, he prepared these islands as a Naval Base He was ill supported from home, and could not or would not act in harmony with Dupleix Returning to France in 1747 he was imprisoned for three years, and died shortly after his release

17 **Dupleix**, Governor 1741-54 See Intr §§2, 5, 6, and p 88 2-8

25 **breach of the Capitulation** Malleison (*The French in India*, ch iv) argues that Dupleix was in the right, Labourdonnais had unquestionably exceeded his instructions

31 **procession** This appears to be untrue See Malleison, *ibid*

36 **Fort St David** or Cuddalore was now unsuccessfully besieged by Dupleix An equally unsuccessful siege of Pondicherry by Admiral Boscawen followed soon after

9. 7 **at twenty-one**, in 1746

10 **duel** Clive fired and missed His opponent walked up, and holding his pistol at Clive's head demanded an apology Clive refused "Then I will shoot you," said the other "Shoot and be damned," replied Clive The bully flung down his pistol and walked off saying Clive was mad See Browning's poem "Clive" (*Dramatic Idylls*, 2nd Series)

17 **Lawrence**, the "Father of the Indian army" He held the chief command from 1747-59

20. **peace** The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1749 Intr 5

29 **a new aspect** See Intr §6

35 **Moguls** See Intr. §2.

10. 5 **St Peter's**, the great Cathedral at Rome

8 **Versailles**, the palace of the French kings outside Paris

11. 3 **Theodosius**, Emperor of the East, A.D. 379-95 Within a few years Rome was sacked by Alaric, and the last Emperor of the West, Romulus Augustulus, abdicated in 476

6 **Charlemagne**, the Frank, reigned over France, Italy, and Western Germany, 800-14 His successors, the Carolingians, reigned till 989, but had little power Their dominions were split up among nominally subordinate Dukes and Counts

19 **The Seine** Charles the Simple allowed the Northmen under Rollo to settle in Normandy about 905 A.D.

Hungarian By origin a Turkish tribe, they entered Europe about 855, and were Christianised about 1000 A.D.

21 **Gog or Magog** See *Revelation* xx 8

22 **Pannonian** The Latin name for Hungarian

23 **Saracen**. The Mahomedans held Sicily for a time about 850 A.D.

12. 8 **A Persian**, Nadir Shah, 1739 Intr §2

11 **Roe**, Sir T., Ambassador from James I. to the Emperor Jehangir

Bernier, a French physician at the court of Aurungzeb He has left an interesting memoir of his stay

Peacock Throne, of the Moguls, valued at over £10,000,000

12 **Golconda**, diamond mines near Haidarabad.

13 **Mountain of Light**, the Koh-i-Nûr diamond Runjeet Sing, ruler of the Punjab 1780-1839, wished to present it to the temple in Crissa But his intention was not carried out; and on our conquest of the Punjab in 1849, it became one of the British Crown jewels.

16 **idol**, Jugganath

The Afghan, Ahmad Shah Intr §2

18 **Rajpootana**, Hindoo States in N.-W. India

20 **Rohilcund**, the Rohillas whom Warren Hastings fought
Seiks, properly Sikhs. Intr §2.

21 **Jauts**, properly Jâts, near Agra

30 **Mahrattas** Intr §2

13. 9 **blackmail** The native name was chaunth

30 **Lucknow**, the capital of Oudh, annexed in 1856.

14. 1 **Cabul**. See p 12 16

Chorasan, N.-E. Persia See p 12 8

14 **Burrampooter** = Biahmaputia

Hydaspes, the ancient name of the Jhelum.

15 **Ava** The first Burmese War, 1824-6, resulting in the annexation of Assam

16 **Candahar** An unfortunate boast Our nominee, Shah Soojah, was driven from the throne within two years of the time at which Macaulay wrote, and a British army perished in the Khoord Cabul Pass, 1842

17 **an European Empire** The idea had long been in men's minds The opportunity for its realisation did not arise till now Intr § 2

29 **Saxe**, Maurice Comte de, Marshal of France, beat us at Fontenoy, 1745

30 **Frederic the Great**, King of Prussia, the best soldier of his time, 1740-86

15. 23 **de facto**, in reality

33 **Anaverdy**, properly Anwar-ud-din

35 **Mirzapha Jung**, properly Mazuffar Jung

16. 11 **Coromandel**, *i e* round Madras

19 **A battle**, at Ambur, 1748

23 **Burke** in his speeches at the impeachment of Warren Hastings

17. 29 **vain-glorious**, an unfair taunt He surely counted it true policy to impress the imagination of Asiatics

18. 35 **some daring blow** See Intr § 6 By attacking Arcot he drew the enemy from Trichinopoly

20 28 **Napoleon** filled his Old Guard with picked veterans How they made a last supreme effort at Waterloo everyone knows

21. 27 **Ali**, cousin of Mahomet, and husband of his daughter Fatima, was after his death eventually appointed Khalifa Civil war ensuing, he was murdered His children were persecuted by the Dynasty of Ommeyyah His son, Hosein, tried to regain the throne, but was killed with his own son and his nephew by the Khalifa's troops, A D 680 The festival is called the Muharram

23. 5 The siege had lasted from Sept 23 to Nov 15, 1751

15 **The action** at Arni, Nov, 1751

20 Still more important was the accession to the English of Mysore and of the native chiefs ruling between Trichinopoly and the coast Communication with the sea was thus secured

35 **again defeated**, at Kaveripak, 1752 As a military feat this action was more remarkable than Plassey

25. 20 cowardice, an unfair criticism Though no soldier, Dupleix proved his courage and capacity when he personally defended Pondicherry against Boscawen. See Malleson, *The French in India*, chap v.

21 Bobadil, the braggart soldier in Ben Jonson's play, *Every man in his humour*

28 Bussy, the ablest French soldier who ever served in India To him is due the French successes in the Deccan In 1761, when serving under Lally, he was taken prisoner at Wandewash (see Intr § 8) He also served in the American War of Independence

36 were besieged, by Major Lawrence.

26. 5 no longer received help They may have recognised what Dupleix perhaps did not, that, to support his plans, France must secure the command of the sea (Intr § 1) Besides the French East India Company had long been practically bankrupt

27. 21 after the marriage, in Feb., 1753 He was absent till 1756

28. 27 a petition, i.e. to unseat the successful candidate on the score of bribery

30 Jacobites, the supporters of the Stuarts. The rebellion of 1745 had been crushed at Culloden

36 Frederic, the eldest son of George II, led a section of the Whigs in opposition to his father's minister, Sir Robert Walpole

29. 7 Newcastle, Prime Minister, 1754-6 and 1757-62

10 Fox, Lord Holland, father of C J Fox

30. 13 Cumberland, second son of George II His stern repression of the Jacobites in 1746 had made the Tories bitter against him

21 A treaty, see Intr. § 6 For the fate of Dupleix, see p. 88. 1-8

34 Gheriah, near Bombay, at which Clive had orders to break his journey

32. 27 Chowringhee, the fashionable quarter of Calcutta overlooking the Maidan or Park The Course, l. 30, is a much frequented drive

33. 3 Aliverdy, properly Ali Vardi

7 Surajah Dowlah, properly Siráj-ud-daulá.

34. 18 resistance, organised by Mr Holwell, a member of Council His name deserves honourable record where other leaders failed

26. crime. 20th June, 1756 It was probably due to a mistake on the part of the soldiers But though the Nawab intended no evil he expressed no regret

- 32 **Black Hole**, a prison cell for the garrison.
35. 14 **Ugolino**, see Dante, *Inferno*, c 33; Chaucer, *Monkes Tale*, l 417 foll
- 37 28 **Budgebudge** A single drunken sailor strayed into the fort undetected and signalled to his comrades to follow
- 29 **recovered Calcutta**, 2nd Jan , 1757
- 38 7 **war in Europe** began in 1756, Prussia and England opposing Austria, France, and Russia It ended with the Peace of Paris, 1763
39. 29 **Omichund**, properly Amin Chand
40. 34 **The Daring in War**, Sabat Jang, a title confirmed to him by the Emperor
41. 12 **Meer Jaffer**, properly Mir Jafar Khan
43. 9 **forged Clive**, on his trial, stated that Watson knew of and allowed the forgery, though he would have no hand in it.
44. 5 **The minority** (7 to 9) included the famous Col Sir Eyre Coote
- 29 **The Furies** were spirits—in the Greek Mythology—who pursued the criminal to his doom.
- 31 **The day broke**, 23rd June, 1757.
45. 14 **The Thirty-Ninth**, now the Dorset Regiment
46. 3. **an empire** Consult the map to ascertain the actual extent of territory now conquered See Intr § 10
- 47 32 **irreparably ruined** Probably untrue He soon returned to business at Calcutta, and his name appears in certain later transactions with the English
48. 27 **Machiavelli**, 1469-1527, was sent as ambassador for Florence to the infamous Caesar Borgia His famous book on statecraft, *The Prince*, is based on the doctrine that the end justifies the means.
51. 11. **Venetians** Until the sixteenth century, Venice monopolised the Indian trade, which passed overland to the Levant The discovery of a direct ocean route round the Cape transferred the trade to the Portuguese, in whose track the Dutch, French, and English soon pressed eagerly.
- 16 **pecuniary transactions** Besides the sums named, the company received a million; the army and navy, £250,000 each; compensation to sufferers over £700,000, to three English officials, £80,000 However much Clive must be blamed from our standpoint, the arguments of Sir John Malcolm have some weight Nor could Clive's contemporaries in England throw stones while such corruption reigned among them as may be read of in Trevelyan's *Life of O J. Fox*, chap iii When the illegality

of receiving presents was once declared, Clive's conduct is irreproachable See p 74 8-31

34 of evil example See p 64 11-31

52, 27 army of occupation For three years after Waterloo the allied forces remained in France as a security for peace

53, 1 by implication The salaries paid were so absurdly small that no one could live on them But we may hope few carried the licence so far as the Portuguese captain who, on a coasting voyage, made a profit of £2450 for himself, and £78 for his sovereign

19 self-command See p 84 22-33

21 See Intr § 7

54, 4 absurd The office of president was to be held for three months in rotation by the four senior members of Council

55, 1 north of the Carnatic, the Northern Circars, a dependency of the Nizam of the Deccan, at whose Court English influence now superseded that of the French Intr 8

10 The great Mogul, Shah Alam, in the hands of his minister

56, 27 estate The gift was called a Jaghîr The land was held as a Zamindâr, i.e. subject to a rent paid to the Nawab The Company was now to pay the rent to Clive They disputed the gift, but eventually a compromise was effected

57, 5 the Dutch wrested the predominance in the Indian trade from the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century, but lost it to the English at the end of the century owing to their troubles in Europe Since then their interests had been chiefly confined to Java, of which Batavia is the capital This was their last attempt at gaining influence on the mainland

58 7 total rout, Nov, 1759 In Europe we were at peace with Holland

17 Clive sailed, Feb, 1760 He returned to India in 1764

20 his rank Lieutenant-Colonel

28 memorable period, i.e. of the victories of Minden, Quebec, Lagos, Quiberon

59, 1 Wolfe, killed at the taking of Quebec, 1759

4, his single victory Culloden won him the title of 'The Butcher' See p 30 13n

6 Conway fought in the seven years' war Commander-in-chief, 1778

8-14 Granby fought with honour in the seven years' war at Minden, 1759, and Warburg, 1760, under Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick Lord George Sackville was dismissed for refusing to charge the retreating French at Minden Granby replaced him in command of the British contingent

60. 13 **parliamentary interest** Seats in Parliament were regularly bought and sold in those days Clive could fill those he secured with his own supporters

23 **Grenville**, Prime Minister in 1763 For the effect of this choice on Clive's fortunes, see p 83 1-11

25 **Wilkes**, a man of scandalous life, who became a popular hero when, owing to the folly of the ministry, he embodied the three great principles of freedom of election, freedom of the press, and freedom from illegal arrest. See Macaulay's *Essay on Chatham*, and p 82 23 n

27 **Horace Walpole**, 3rd son of Sir Robert His many volumes of letters preserve for us all the gossip of the time, public and private

34. **another vote** Constitutionally, the King is of no party But George III had violated this principle by forming the party of "The King's friends," in order to overthrow the power of the great Whig nobles.

61. 4 **in our time**, i.e. 1840. The Company was dissolved in 1857.

6 **Board of Control** Pitt's India Bill of 1784 for the first time provided a national control of the East India Company by a Board chosen from the Privy Council, with a Secretary of State for India as its President.

7. **Directors**, a governing board of 24 persons elected annually by the holders of Indian stock See Glossary A

10 **Proprietors**, all subscribers to the company of £500 or more. They could act as a check on the directors

15 **Westminster**, one of the largest and most turbulent constituencies of the time. It had 17,000 electors The poll was kept open for many days, and riots were frequent

16 **Grampound**, a Cornish borough with but 25 voters; notorious for corruption.

20 **nominal**, i.e. men who would vote as he wished, and return the necessary £500 of stock (see above, line 10) when the crisis was over

62. 11 **Leadenhall Street** Here was the India House

14 **Pigot**, one of the 'Nabobs' (see p 75 28 foll) He became governor of Madras

24 **South Sea year**, 1720 See any History of England

29. **Sullivan** seems to have been urged on by Bute, whom Clive had offended by a refusal of his support in 1763

63. 4. **rent** See p 56 23 foll note.

26 **proconsul**, e.g. Verres in Sicily

64. 3. Meer Cossim, properly Mī Kasīm See Intr §9.

9 massacre, at Patna Intr. §9

30. little finger 2 *Kings* xii 10

65. 4 English breed By far the greater number of the Company's soldiers were natives But it was English leadership that made them invincible

19 historian Syud Gholam Hussein Khan wrote a history of the Fall of the Mogul Empire

66. 5 executions, *e g* in 1764 a Sepoy regiment tried to desert in a body, but were stopped by Major Hector Munro, who had 24 men executed on the spot

15 Verres, the Roman Governor of Sicily, prosecuted by Cicero

Pizarro See l 5

67. 18 strict orders These greatly strengthened Clive's hands in his subsequent reforms

68. 29 implacable The opposition to Clive was so bitter that many people formed an association to cut his society

33 The good part See *St Luke* x 42

69. 9 submitted He was able to reorganise the Council at Calcutta, forbidding the union in the same hands of both executive and supervising functions Intr 11

70. 12 factors See Glossary A

13 Proconsuls and proprætors were appointed by the Roman Senate to govern provinces, procurators by the emperors.

30 monopoly of salt It also cheapened the price to the native buyer This monopoly no longer exists Intr. 11

71. 19 retrenchments Officers had been allowed certain extra pay, called *batta*, when in the field, or on distant stations It was paid partly by the company, partly by native princes in return for services rendered Abuses had arisen, and Clive greatly restricted the system

30 unconquerable Clive heard of the intended mutiny just before the day fixed by the officers for resignation He was thus able to take the initiative himself, and isolating the guilty from each other, suppress the conspiracy in detail without firing a shot.

72. 5 cashiered Some five or six only

20 peace See Intr §9

29 a new footing Hitherto we had to face in India the commercial rivalry of European nations We were now confronted with the problems of dealing with the native princes alone, and of the annexation of territory preparing the way for supreme dominion Intr 7 and 10

35 **Ricimer** had a hand in the election of four Roman Emperors, 456-72 A D

Odoacer overthrew the Western Empire in 476, and took the title of King of Italy. He was himself conquered by Theodoric the Goth. See p 73 4

73. 5 **Byzantium** The Eastern Empire did not end until the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453

13 **A bargain was struck** A Mussulman historian complains that "so great a transaction was done and finished in less time than would have been taken up in the sale of a jackass"

19 **Chilperic**, king of the Franks in 715. Charles Martel, his mayor of the palace, & chief minister, held all real power; and his son, Pepin, deposed Childeric III, the last Merovingian king, in 752, founding a new dynasty—the Carolingian

26 **The Danes** Their short lived East India Company came to an end in 1728. Their possessions were sold to us in 1845

32 **still resides** Oudh was annexed in 1856.

75. 3 **The fund**, it was handed over to Clive's descendants when the Company was abolished in 1858.

20 **India stock** See p 61 10-23

30 **Nabobs** Jos Sedley for instance in Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*

76. 12. **Farmer-general**, members of the French middle class who, enriched by collecting the revenue for the crown, were at once envied and despised by the old nobility

16 **Jacobins**, the most violent faction during the French Revolution. Here the word means 'men of Revolutionary opinions'

28 **rotten**, boroughs like Grampound, 61 16 n, which had very few voters, and these so wholly in the hands of the landowners that the seats could be regularly bought or sold

77. 7 **Domesday Book**, the famous survey of England, compiled by order of William I

17. **Turcaret**, a rich upstart, a character in a play of Le Sage. **Nero**, one of the worst of the Roman Emperors, A D 54-68

18 **Jourdain**, the suddenly enriched tradesman in *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* of Molière

25 **The Dilettante**, a society formed for the encouragement of art. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Garrick, and C J Fox were members

26 **Maccaroni**, a fashionable club. The name was also used as an equivalent for the more modern 'Dandy'

32 **Foote**, actor and dramatist. wrote the *Nabob*, in which the hero is Sir Matthew Mite. 79. 9.

78. 3 **Mackenzie**, author of *The Man of Feeling* The passage here referred to will be found in Nos 17 and 36 of *The Lounger*, written under the name of 'Margery Mushroom' See line 30

7 **Cowper** The poem is called *Expostulation*

79. 28 **Brown**, 'Capability' Brown, 1715-83, a famous landscape gardener

80. 5 **Huntington**, a preacher and pretended prophet of the day His real name was Hunt S S stood for 'saved sinner'

27 **The Hoogley** The bodies of the dead are thrown by the Hindoos into the Ganges and its tributaries

81. 25 **Adam Smith** discusses the effect of monopolies in his famous book, *The Wealth of Nations*

82. 5 **Intrigues**, such as centred round Lord Bute and the queen mother

riots, e.g. in connection with Wilkes; or those in which a jack-boot used to be burnt in compliment to Lord Bute

6. **insurrectionary movements**, the result of the taxes imposed on the Colonies by Charles Townshend in 1767

23 **Middlesex election** The Government thrice expelled Wilkes from Parliament, though thrice elected for Middlesex, and at last assigned his seat to the candidate second at the poll This unconstitutional decision caused prolonged riots, while 'Junius' lashed the ministry in his famous letters. See p 60 25

83. 15 **spurs chopped off** Knights were thus degraded in the days of chivalry

85. 19 **dog** Dogs are still sometimes used abroad to draw small carts, but the practice had been recently forbidden in England

32 **Bruce**, in 1306, murdered Comyn, a possible rival for the Scottish throne, because he would not break with Edward I

33 **Maurice**, Duke of Saxony, became the successful champion of the Protestants against Charles V His earlier life was marked by a self-seeking policy

William led the Dutch Revolt against Spain. He was accused of treachery to Spain, and of the murder of his first wife

34. **his descendant**, William III, is charged with complicity in the massacre of Glencoe

35 **Murray**, regent of Scotland, violently opposed his half sister Queen Mary after the Darnley marriage

Cosmo de Medici, d 1574, revived art and literature at Florence, but won and kept his power by cruelty

36 Henry IV gave France peace and good government after the Huguenot wars, but his private life was bad, and he became a Roman Catholic in order to wear the crown

Peter, a coarse, brutal, and cruel ruler—he murdered his own son—but he founded the greatness of Russia

86. 9 North, Prime Minister 1770-82

14 Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey.

22 Burgoyne, he afterwards surrendered with his army to the Americans at Saratoga, 1777

87. 18. syllogism, a deductive argument, thus expressed

Major Premiss Officials who receive illegal presents deserve punishment

Minor Premiss Clive received such presents

Conclusion. Clive deserves punishment.

21 Previous question, a means of evading an awkward motion by taking first a proposal of one of its opponents

30 Jenkinson, afterwards Lord Liverpool, a supporter of Bute

88. 5 Bastille, the State Prison of Paris. It was stormed and destroyed by the mob in 1789

6 Duplex, on his return to France in 1754, was left unnoticed and unrewarded by the government His urgent appeals for repayment of money advanced by him out of his own purse—it is said he claimed 13 million francs—were ignored He died in poverty and misery on Nov 10, 1764

16 foll Voltaire, 1694-1778, French poet, historian, and philosopher He was a deist and assailed the Christian Faith, and especially the Roman Catholic Church in France, and was therefore obnoxious to the government of Louis XIV He lived many years at Ferney in Switzerland

28. Theophilanthropy, a French sect who adopted Voltaire's Deistical teaching

30 Brahmins, the Hindu priestly caste

89. 1 which rejoiceth, Job iii 22

31 annihilated Clive gave the order; it was Forde who won the victory P 58 2

90. 23 Ghuzni, properly Ghazni, taken during the Afghan war in 1839.

26 Alexander of Macedon was 22 when he conquered at the Granicus; Condé 22 when he defeated the Spaniards at Rocroi, 1643; Charles of Sweden 18 when he beat the Russians at Narva

91. 4. more than. Intr. 2.

10 **Sacred Way**, the road by which the Roman Triumphs passed to the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol

12 **Antiochus**, king of Syria, was conquered by Pompey; Tigranes of Armenia by Lucullus

36 **Munro**, Sir T, governor of Madras, 1819-27, reorganised the system of land-tenure and revenue

92. 1 **Elphinstone**, the Hon Mountstuart, governor of Bombay, 1819

Metcalfe, Lord, provisional governor-general, 1835-6

10 **Lucullus** commanded in the third Mithridatic war with brilliant success until his army mutinied, when he was superseded by Pompey (B.C. 74-66)

Trajan, emperor of Rome (A.D. 98-117), won victories over the Parthians and Dacians

12 **Turgot**, minister (1774-6) under Louis XVI. His efforts after a more economical, efficient, and just government and the remedy of those abuses which culminated in the French Revolution won him the enmity of the privileged classes, who managed to bring about his fall

14 **Bentinck**, Lord William, governor of Bengal, 1828-33, first governor-general, 1833-5. He was the first to govern India strictly in the interest of the people. He abolished suttee, increased the employment of natives in the Civil Service, and organised public education. Macaulay was in India as a member of his council.

GLOSSARY.

The first number gives the page, the second the line of the page, on which the word will be found

A —ANGLO-INDIAN TERMS.

- (1) **The East India Company** had its headquarters at the **India House** in Leadenhall Street (54 1, 27 33). Its government was vested in the **Governor** and the **Board of Directors** (61 7) elected by the stockholders. The **Court of Proprietors** (61 10), consisting of the holders of over £500 stock could be summoned at a crisis as a Court of final reference. The Company's servants in India were known as **writers** (70 12), junior merchants, senior merchants. A **Factor** was the head of a factory or centre of trade (not a manufactory). There were also **Agents** in distant towns (70 2). These grades were abolished in 1833. A **settlement** (5 8) was a town at which English merchants were stationed with a fort to protect them. A **cantonment** (6 9) was a military station. **Sepoy**, properly **Sipahi**, is the name of the native soldier in British pay. The factories were grouped into the three **Presidencies** (4 23), of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay, each under a **Governor and Council** of four members appointed by the directors.
- (2) **The Mogul** (13 18). The Emperor of Delhi. The native title was **Padishah**.
Viceroy (6 2), properly **Subahdar**, and **Nabob** (6 1), properly **Nawab**, were lieutenants of the Mogul governing provinces.
- (3) **Hindoo** (1 10). The Hindoo religion is polytheistic and idolatrous. The **Brahmins** form the priestly caste, but also engage in other professions.
Mussulman (1 11), the followers of the prophet, Mahomet. The Koran is their bible. They are pure monotheists. In paradise the true believer has beautiful damsels, called **Hours** (22 9), to wait upon him.

- (4) **Bang** (12. 5), an intoxicating drug made from hemp
Jaghire (78 3, 56 23), a landed estate given as a reward for service done
Jungle (13 5), a forest
Lac (53 15), 100,000 rupees or (in Clive's time) over £10,000
Rupee (49 29), the standard coin of India, originally 2s in value, now about 1s 3d
Palanquin (17. 3), a litter carried by porters

B —GENERAL

- abject** (11 11), contemptible
abortive (82 13), without effect
abuse (48 16), misuse
acclamation (75 11), cheers
accommodation (38 1), a treaty of peace
accost (73 34), to address.
acquisition (51 6), gains
addicted (3 34), naturally inclined to
adhere to (46 27), to persevere in
administration (60 18), ministry.
affluence (51 4), wealth
aggravate (80 15), to make worse
alien from (84 16), foreign to
altercation (39 1), a quarrel
analogy (11 4), resemblance
anomaly (61 4), something not in harmony with the constitution
anticipate (54 12), to carry out beforehand
apprehensive (19 4), afraid, *subst* apprehension
apprise (38 7), to inform
appropriate (70 29), set apart for a purpose
arbitration (43 15), a decision given by a judge chosen by mutual consent of two disputants
arraign (52 16), to attack, accuse
artifice (42 6), a trick
ascendency (8 3), a position of superior power
assiduous (83 36), careful and constant
authentic (2 19), accurate
authorise (53 2), to permit
avocations (3. 20), business
bauble (52 5), a worthless toy
bewilder (34 13), to puzzle
blackmail (13 9), money paid to a robber to buy off his attacks
borough (29 17), a town returning a member to Parliament
Byzants (51 10), a gold coin first used at Byzantium
cabal (66 4), an intrigue
calumny (30 24), false accusations
Camelopard (63 30), giraffe.
capacious (14. 19), able to form wide plans
capitulation (8 11), a treaty by which a town is surrendered
cashier (72 5), to turn out of the army.
cast (9 6), to add up
censure (86 29), condemnation
chairman (62 13), president;
 (78 1), carrier of a sedan chair

charnel house (36 3), a place where bones and dead bodies are thrown
chicane (32 9), chicanery, (30 24), mean intrigues
churlish (74 26), unmannerly
clown (80 3), peasant
coadjutor (24 34), assistant
coalition (72 23), union
commissary (18 29), the officer in charge of the supply of food to an army
commission (9 7), a document appointing to office
compact (72 32), arrangement
compatible with (3 31), capable of being united with
concert by—(11 14), by arrangement
concur in (3 5), to agree with; *subst* concurrence (44 5)
confines (55 34), boundaries
conjecture (24 20), state of affairs
connections (29 2), family interest
connive at (68 21), to allow to go on, literally, wink at
contravention (81 31), a breach
convulsions (10 29), violent movements of a revolution; of fear (50 21)
co-operate with (10 36), to help
corn factor (81 22), corn merchant
corporation (4 24), a body of men united for some common work and acting collectively
counterfeit (39 25), to forge
countermand (41 1), to recall an order
covenant (58 15), treaty, agreement
credit, to strain (26 10), to make every effort to raise money on one's own security.

crumps (26 28), recruiting agents, kidnappers
cross (29 12), to hinder
cumbrous (54 4), clumsy
debauchery (12 4), self-indulgent vice, debauch (35 32), intoxication
declaim (53 17), make a set speech, *subst* declamation (83 36)
decomposition (11 2), decay
defray (74 27), to pay
demagogue (60 24), a political leader of the mob
dependent (60 17), one who lives in subjection to another
despotism (10 19), absolute government
deviate (88 14), to wander
devise (49 18), to invent
dexterity (26 20), skill
digest (2 36), to arrange.
diploma (26 10), a firm or document conferring some power
diplomatic (4 34), connected with the intercourse of one state with another
disaffection (66 14), a tendency to mutiny
discard (73 22), to throw over
discomfiture (78 11), defeat
discrimination (3 6), good judgment
disinterestedness (84 26), unselfishness
dislodge (55 2), to turn out.
disquisition (83 35), a speech stating an argument at length
dissent (68 4), disagreement
dissimulation (41 29), hypocrisy
dissipate (28 22), to waste
dissolute (41 6), immoral
dissolution (10 34), decay
distemper (89 18), disease.

distract (44 24), to drive mad
 dominant (63 1), most powerful
 donation (75 4), donative (41 24), a gift
 donor (51 24), one who gives
 doublings (49 13), twists and turns
 dynasty (54 32), a reigning family
 effeminate (45 5), cowardly; literally, womanish
 emolument (17 17), a well paid post
 enervated (31 36), made weak
 engagement (39 19), a promise
 engross (81 7), to buy up the whole available supply of
e.g. corn
 ensign (9 6), the lowest grade of officer in the army, now called sub-lieutenant
 equipage (32 31), a carriage
 equitable (87 36), just.
 estranged (5 28), made a stranger to
 eulogy (88 15), praise
 evacuate (19 16), to quit
 evacuation (28 26), spending
 evade (40 7), to quibble, *adj.* evasive (43 27), *subst.* evasions (49 14)
 excess (66 15), violent or wicked deeds
 execrable (36 14), worthy of execration, (77 19), *re* detestation
 expediency (48 25), what pays, not what is right
 expostulate (35 8), *subst.* —ation, (78 7), to protest
 extenuating (52 35), lessening guilt
 extraction (20 25), nationality
 extremities (86 11), to proceed to, to use the utmost severity

faction (63 1), a party; *adj.* factious (69 8), violent in party spirit
 fanaticism (22 31), wild religious fervour
 fastness (10 26), a stronghold
 ferment (11 27), to be violently converted into
 fiction (35 13), a work of the imagination, (42 7), a falsehood, *adj.* fictitious (42 36)
 file (63 10) (a bill in Chancery), to begin a Chancery law suit
 financial (4 34), connected with matters of revenue
 firelock (44 35), a musket fired by a flint
 fiscal (64 21), relating to matters of revenue
 flash-houses (26 29), resorts of rascals
 florid (41 2), overloaded with ornament, flowery
 foil (88 1), a contrast
 formal (73 8), legally expressed.
 freebooter (12 36), robbers
 functionary (5 19), an official.

galleys (26 8), prison ships
 genu (65 2), evil spirits.
 gradation (62 6), a step, or stage

Harquebusier (1 17), a soldier armed with an early kind of musket

ignominious (67 26), shameful
 imbecility (11 7), weakness of mind, incapacity; *adj.* imbecile (53 25).
 immemorial (47 5), ancient
 impale (41 4), to execute by running a stake through the body
 imperiousness (3 35), love of commanding others.
 implacable (50 25), unforgiving

implication (53 1), something implied but not definitely stated.
impolitic (60 24), unwise, wanting in tact
imputation (59 12), the suggestion of a fault
incense (42 19), to make angry.
indiscretion (38 31), want of prudence
inestimable (12 13), priceless
inexorable (69 4), refusing to listen to entreaty
inflexible (6 36), unyielding
infringe (5 1), to violate, encroach upon
ingenuousness (84 15), straightforwardness
insidious (45 24), treacherous.
insipid (2 10), prop tasteless, uninteresting
installation (16 36), ceremony of admission to an office
integrity (38 25), freedom from corrupt motives.
interloper (24 36), one who interferes in other's business
intervention (17 18), assistance
intrepidity (3 30), courage
intrigue (16 28), plotting
invalide (75 2), to turn out of the army because of ill health.
invest (20 5), to besiege
invoice (14 21), a list of goods sent by a merchant
irreparably (47. 32), beyond all cure.
jargon (78 2), unintelligible talk.
judicial (4 34), connected with the law courts
jurisdiction (32 36), the right to govern
kettledrum (13 2), drums such as cavalry use now the skin stretched over a half-sphere of brass.

Lading, bill of (14 22), a list of the goods sent in a ship
laguor (23 30), slackness
legitimate (9 14), lawful
levity (40 5), want of seriousness
libertine (77 28), a man of evil life
lineaments (3 26), characteristics, generally used of the features of the face
lucrative (62 4), well paid
magnanimous (39 3), noble
maladministration (10 28), bad government.
malevolence (24. 7), ill will
malignant (50 31), bitter
Marshal (20 19), the highest officer in an army.
medium (39 35), means
misrepresentation (70 28), putting an act down to wrong motives
mitigate (5 21), to render less burdensome
monopoly (5 1), the sole right of trading granted to an individual or to a company
myriad (2 2), prop 10,000, any large number.
nominal (11 11), existing only in name, without real power
notorious (70 3), well known
nutriment (80 8), support
obligation (84 24), a duty
obloquy (71 16), discredit, ill fame
obtrusively (76 9), so as to force a thing on people's notice
odium (78 24), unpopularity
opulence (32 26), wealth
ordnance (44. 36), cannon
oscillate (40 29), waver
ostentatious (5. 18), fond of showing off

overawe (6 9), to hold in check by fear.
 overtures (37 33), proposals
 pacific (37 31), peaceful
 pageant (17 3), a splendid show
 pamphlet (62 12), a small book or treatise
 pandar (77 36), one who ministers to a man's evil passions
 paramount (29 20), supreme
 parole (8 12), a promise given by a prisoner not to escape, or not to serve again against the enemy
 parsimonious (41 9), miserly
 partiality (2 35), undue favour for a person
 parts (29 15), ability
 passive (11 28), doing nothing to repel an enemy
 pecuniary (51 16), in money
 penury (70 21), poverty
 peremptorily (74 20), absolutely
 pertinacious (32 9), persevering
 pervade (65 36), to be found in
 pervert (33 12), to spoil
 physical (89 18), bodily
 pittance (35 25), a very small quantity
 plausible (15 22), such as seems satisfactory
 poignantly (88 25), in a touching manner
 poltroon (21 22), coward
 pomposity (76 1), the affectation of magnificence
 potentate (17 23), a ruler
 precedence (17 4) (to take), to have superior rank
 precedent (15 17), a similar case in past history taken to guide action now
 predatory (4 5), formed for purposes of robbery.

preponderate (62 27), to be greater
 preposterous (54 9), absurd
 prescription (73 4), a right long-existing by custom not by law
 pretensions (10 21), claims to rule
 profusion (77 13), display of wealth
 promiscuously (36 5), in confusion
 propensity (38 34), inclination
 proprietor (3 21), landowner
 puppet (14 34), literally, a doll, a ruler who exercises no power
 quittance (56 23), rent paid in satisfaction for all claims
 ramification (42 4).
 rancour (75 19), *adj.* rancorous; (86 8), bitter spite
 rapacious (13 9), greedy of plunder; *subst.* rapacity (53 18).
 ratify (17 22), to confirm.
 recurrence (22 1), return
 redeem (28 21), to free from debt, redeem a pledge
 (68 15), to fulfil a promise
 remit (57 28), to send money, *subst.* remittance (59 26)
 remunerate (70 23), to pay
 repair to (46 9), to visit
 repository (49 29), hiding place
 reprobate (4 15), a worthless fellow
 requisition (67 2), a request
 rescind (30 16), to declare void
 retinue (10 6), band of followers
 retract (40 7), to take back a promise
 retrenchment (71 19), economy
 retribution (34 17), punishment.

return (29. 24), the declaration that a candidate has been elected
roll (92 6), a list.

salutary (68 17), beneficial
saunter away (12 4), so to waste in idle pleasures
scrutiny (86. 1), examination
second (58 1), to support
sedentary (32 7), not involving active exercise
servility (33 21), mean submission
set off (85 14), allowing good service to atone for an evil deed
signal (9 9), conspicuous;
adv (58 6), signally
solicit (13 25), to ask for
solicitude (65 26), care
solstice (34 35), the 21st June.
stunted (69 23), insufficient
stipulate (8 11), to arrange terms; *subst* stipulation, clause in a treaty
strain (25 20), tone, manner
straitened (30 18), made poorer
stud (76 34), horses kept for breeding.
subordinate to (9. 1), dependent on.
subtle (16. 12), artful
sumpter-horse (63 32), a horse carrying baggage
superficial (10 16), careless
supersede (30 22), deprive of office.
supplant (29 6), to turn out of office.
supple (41 9), fawning, given to flattery
Sybarite (79 3), one fond of luxury like the people of Sybaris, a Greek town in Italy.

tact (3 19), power of dealing with people or business
tactician (59 18), a master of tactics, (14 27), the art of arranging troops for battle
temerity (38 30), rashness
temper (88 15), to make less severe
temporal (48 32), worldly as distinguished from spiritual
titular (13 34), possessing the title, but not the power of office
tract (11 31), period, (54 36), district
transport (23 7), a violent display of emotion
tribunal (86 3), a court to judge an offender
trick out (77 36), to deck out

unnerve (33. 16), to make feeble
upstart (55 22), one suddenly raised to wealth or power
usury (49 25), interest on money

valid (52 14), sound
veracity (49 12), the habit of telling the truth
versed (59 7), trained
vicissitude (12 14), change of fortune
vindicate oneself (83. 24), to clear oneself
virtually (33 4), practically, almost
virulent (61 14), venomous, bitter
visitation (80, 16), a heaven sent punishment
voluble (32 8), noisy, fluent

wit (86 23), intellect and imagination.

ESSAY QUESTIONS.

1. What objections are there to government by Chartered Company? Is the system in use now?
2. What nations have at various times held the monopoly of the Indian trade?
3. By what different routes has that trade been carried on?
4. Discuss the policy of Dupleix. How far is Macaulay unfair to him?
5. Do you consider the recall of Dupleix a mistake of policy on the part of the French Government?
6. Why and when was the East India Company abolished?
7. How is India governed now? Do any independent states remain?
8. On what moral grounds can you justify annexations by a more civilised neighbour?
9. Explain the system of government established by Clive in Bengal. Does anything like it exist now?
10. Who were the Mahrattas? When did we come in contact with them?
11. Describe in your own words
 - (1) The intrigue with Omichund and Meer Jaffier
 - (2) The character of a "Nabob"
 - (3) The siege of Arcot and its importance
 - (4) Surajah Dowlah's capture of Calcutta
12. "To be master of the sea is an Abridgement of a monarchy." Discuss this dictum of Lord Bacon
13. How does our Empire in India differ from any other system of rule previously set up there?
14. How far were the attacks made on Clive after his final return home justifiable?
15. Discuss the chief characteristics of Macaulay's style. He is often charged with exaggeration. Is the accusation deserved?
16. To what causes may the failure of the French in India be attributed?
17. "The white man's burden." What is meant by this phrase?

PASSAGES SUGGESTED FOR REPETITION

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